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WYE HOUSE

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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WYE HOUSE, TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND

McHENRY HOWARD

In Volume xvii, page 20 (March, 1922), of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, appeared an article on the Lloyd graveyard at Wye House, Talbot County, 1684 ——. Some further account of the old Maryland home of which this graveyard is an adjunct may be acceptable.

As stated in that former article, the tract of land "Linton,"¹ 600 acres, was surveyed—the first step under an application for a grant of land from Lord Baltimore—for Edward Lloyd 5 November 1658. He soon after purchased "The Grange," 150 acres adjoining on the West, and on 25 September 1695 the widow of his son Col. Philemon Lloyd took out a Patent for a "vacancy"² of 216 acres, on the South, which she called "Henrietta Maria's Discovery." Many other tracts were added to the Lloyd possessions, with which this article is not concerned, the outer part of the entrance avenue to Wye House seeming to be on "Henrietta Maria's Discovery" and the

¹ There are several places in England named Linton, one being in Herefordshire, not very far from the Welsh border.

² A vacancy was land not included within the lines of patented tracts. The Patent was the final deed of grant from Lord Baltimore.

house and garden and appurtenant grounds being on either "Linton" or "Grange," or perhaps both, the dividing line between them being of difficult location, and in fact there being a conflict of lines.³

This entrance avenue begins nearly a mile from the house, at the "Top Gate" which opens into the county road.⁴ The avenue is a long enclosure about 150 feet wide, with the road in the middle shaded by rows of trees, which were formerly alternate English elms and lindens, but the elms having been destroyed by insects they have been replaced by white oaks. At the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the house the straight road divides and the two branches curve around a wide space, in grass, called the "Big Circle," each branch leading to a gate within which are the front grounds of the house—grass and gravel with large trees—separated from the outer circle by a "Ha-Ha,"⁵ which extends across from gate to gate. From these two gates gravelled ways converge to the small circle, in the centre of which is an old sundial. On the East of the front of the house is about half an acre of large trees, called the Shrubbery—holly, beech, linden and other kinds, a tall cypress predominating, with its characteristic champagne bottle roots. On the West is a long artificially raised terrace with a gravelled walk, from which is a distant

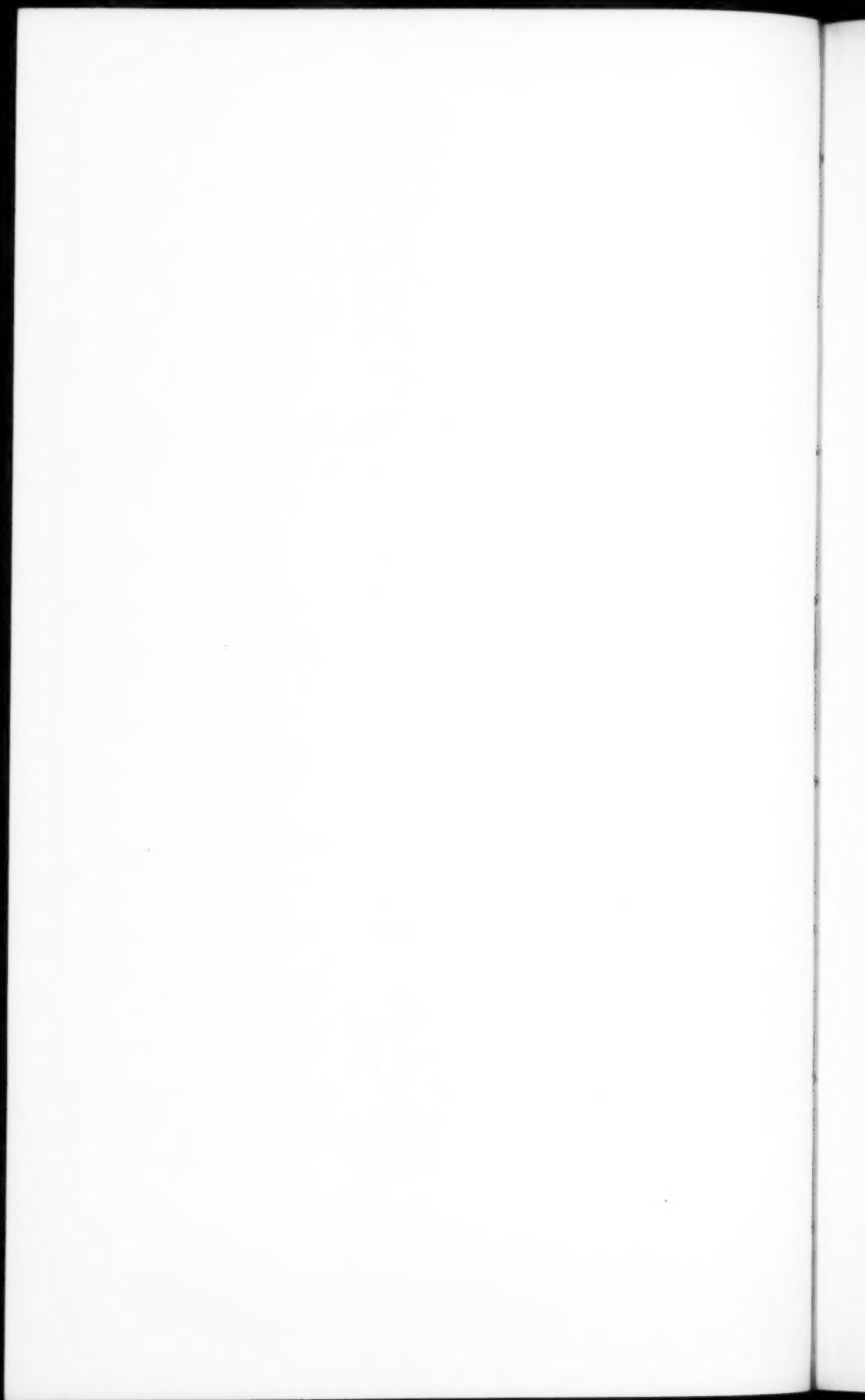
³ See 1 Harris and McHenry's *Maryland Law Reports*, Vol. 1, page 2, for an order of the Provincial Court of Maryland changing the running of the "long lines" of Edward Lloyd's adjoining tracts of land and making the line of the land purchased from William Granger run South East instead of East.

⁴ This country road was for many years until lately of no use to any but the Lloyds of Wye House, as Westwardly it ran through their property to Wye River at the site of the old town of Doncaster, at the mouth of the River, and Eastwardly it ran also for a long distance through or along Lloyd possessions. Doncaster was laid out under Act of the Legislature in 1683 but it never prospered and its lots long ago became merged in the Lloyd Wye Town farm.

⁵ A "Ha-Ha" was an old time substitute for a fence, being a wide and deep ditch, the outer side sloping but the inner side a wall which cattle could not ascend. The unsightliness or interruption to view of a raised fence was thus avoided.



CAPTAIN'S HOUSE



view of the wide Wye River and the wooded Bruff's Island⁶ lying in its mouth.

The Talbot County Court Records show that the first Edward Lloyd had a house in the County as early as 1663.⁷ Just outside the East line of the garden is still standing a small old brick house facing Easterly on the spacious farmyard grounds and "Quarter Cove," which is about 100 yards distant, with partially wainscotted rooms, and this, while probably not the original house, may be on its site and not improbably the family residence or part of it, before the building of the present dwelling. In my early years it was called—and I believe it is still called—the "Captain's House," because it was occupied by the captain of the schooner which carried the crops to Baltimore and brought back farm and household supplies; sometimes it was used to take the family to Annapolis or for other occasional uses.⁸

When the present Wye House was built is not known, but the house, its approach and garden are evidently of one plan. In 1749 Col. Edward Lloyd's wealth was much augmented by his becoming residuary devisee of his greatuncle Richard Bennett—said to be the richest man in the American Colonies, and it may

⁶ Crouch's or Bruff's Island is generally so called from the names of ancient owners, but it was for between one and two hundred years until lately a Lloyd possession.

⁷ *History of Talbot County*, by Oswald Tilghman, Vol. 1, page 142.

⁸ As early as 1757 Col. Edward Lloyd had his own ship which went to England. (*Archives of Maryland*, Correspondence of Governor Sharpe, Vol. 1, page 522, Vol. 2, p. 227; also an old letter at Wye.) In the Revolutionary War a schooner of the next Col. Edward Lloyd was lost while being used by the State—probably captured by the British in the Yorktown campaign—for which he received 37500 pounds of tobacco in compensation. (*Council Proceedings*, Liber C. B. 1770-1784, original.) On _____ 17 Col. Lloyd writes to his merchants in London for two cannons for his yacht, "such as will make a thunderous report"; they are still at Wye, mounted on wooden blocks. Probably a vessel was maintained at Wye continuously until after the Civil War, when it was discontinued, the last two being successively the "Petrel" and the "Wave of Wye." When not in use they were kept moored to a cluster of piles in the Quarter Cove; they were of about 80 tons burden.

be conjectured that the present house was built not long after that date.⁹

This house, fronting nearly South, has a main building about 60 by 40 feet, and two stories and a garret high, with two wings, making a total front of about 150 feet. The main building contains on the first floor a hall, an office, dining room, a long parlor and a room which according to old custom was the chamber of the heads of the family but is now turned into a drawing room. The walls of the hall and dining room are covered with the Boydell Shakspeare engravings.¹⁰ In the parlor are some old oil paintings, landscape and naval, one being of some sea fight between the British and French. In that room also until recently hung Benjamin West's¹¹ portrait of Captain Richard Bennett Lloyd, mentioned in the

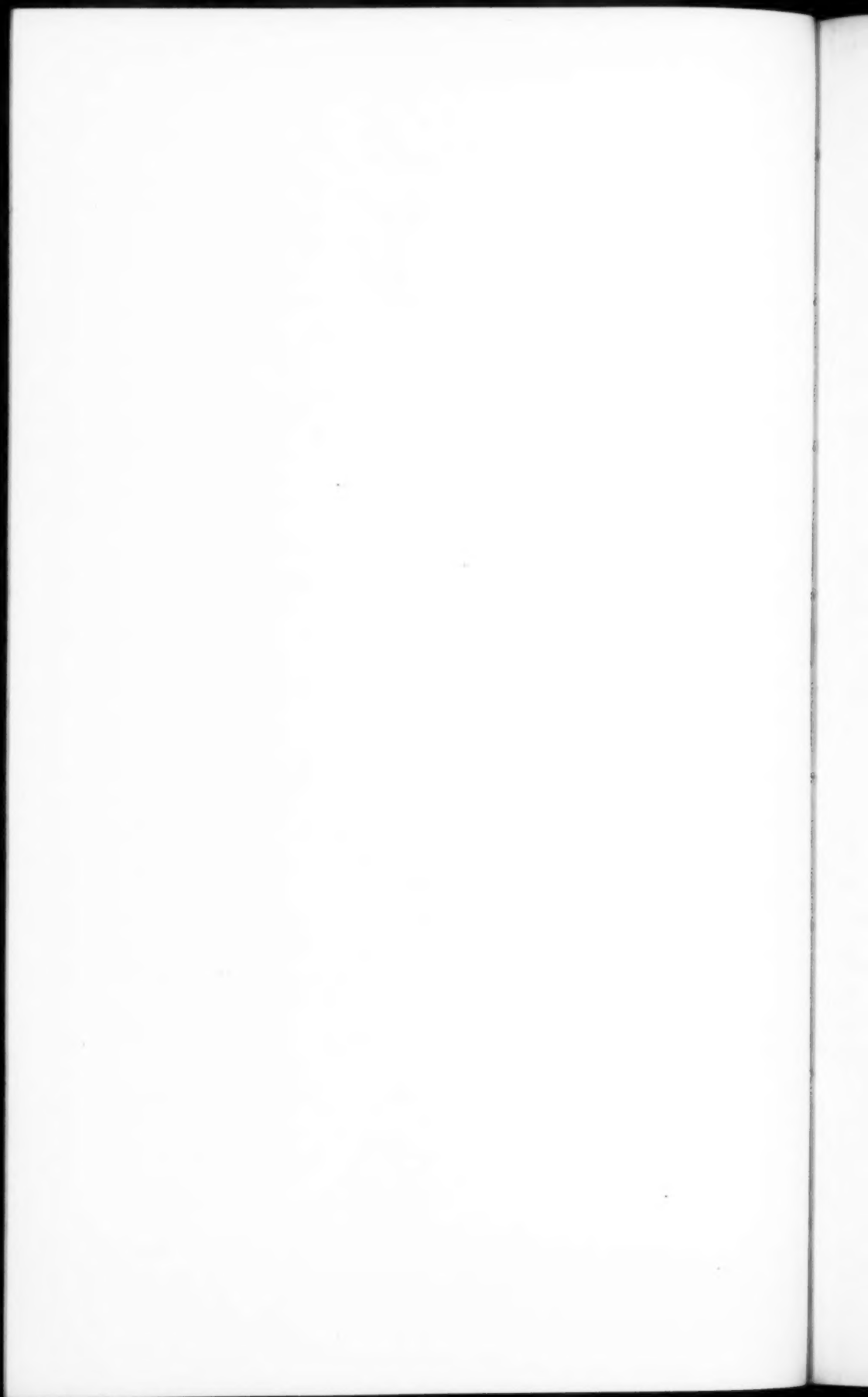
⁹ It is sometimes said that the house was burned by a landing party of British in the Revolutionary War and was immediately rebuilt, but the evidences seem to the contrary. There is no such tradition with the family at Wye and I have found no mention in the *Maryland Gazette* of such a destruction. And in a list at Wye of articles "carried off by the enemy 13 March, 1781" (silver, jewelry &c.) nothing is said about a burning of the house, and a subsequent claim of Col. Lloyd for an abatement of taxes does not include one for the house. And, also, old papers and other articles still in the house would not have escaped such a destruction. See Tilghman's *History of Talbot County*, Vol. 1, page 182, note.

¹⁰ When some years ago some of these engravings were sent to Baltimore to be cleaned, the old glasses, with wide black margins and gilt lettering referring to the scenes of the plays, warped and broke.

¹¹ In 177— Charles Willson Peale in writing from Wye House to West says, "I often look at your portrait of Richard Bennett Lloyd"; and it seems corroborative that beneath the portrait hung until lately large drawings of two of West's historical paintings—the child Hannibal swearing eternal enmity to the Romans and Regulus saying farewell to the Roman Senate on returning a prisoner to Carthage. It is surprising that there are no other family portraits in the house. Many years ago John Bozman Kerr, of Talbot Co. and a descendant, stated that "as lately as 1796 the portraits of Captain James Neale in his court dress while in Spain and of his wife Mrs. Anna Neale were in the garret at Wye but that during the absence of the family at Annapolis they disappeared. As works of art done in Spain they were valuable." (Perhaps they were taken to the Lloyd town residence in Annapolis—the so-called Chase House—and may be still in existence somewhere.



BACK LAWN AND GREENHOUSES



former article. The stairway rises from the hall, its outer side unsupported from underneath. Above are sleeping rooms and the garret. Back of the parlor and dining room is a long and wide porch with pillars. In the East wing are the kitchen and other household service rooms; in the West wing are several other rooms and until recently was the library.

The collection of books, about a thousand volumes, is unique, having apparently been begun by the Col. Edward Lloyd who was born in 1744 and ending abruptly with his death in 1796. There are folios (such as Boydell's *Shakespeare*, Harris's *Voyages and Travels*, &c.), quartos (Milton, Camoens' *Lusiad*, *Don Quixote*, with page-sized engravings, and others), octavos &c. In a chest was a mass of old papers dating back more than two hundred years, at the bottom being between one hundred and two hundred Patents for land (among them "Linton" 1658, "Hir Dir Lloyd" 1659, &c.), Lord Baltimore's seal or fragments of it still attached to them by a ribband. In a corner rack were several old English guns, flint-lock and one bell-mouthed, attesting the predilection of the family for out-of-door sports. But some recent alterations in 1916, which have not changed noticeably the exterior of the house, have turned the old library into a bedroom and made it necessary to seek a new location for the books. Before this there was only an entrance to the library by an outside door; there is now interior communication with the room added.¹²

The garden, behind the house and front grounds, is of between four and five acres, with a profusion of shrubbery and flowers, with some fruit and shade trees. Back of the main building of the house is a grass lawn, about 50 feet wide and extending Northerly one hundred yards to the "Greenhouse,"

¹²In the garret of the house there was in the "good old time" a dwindled stock of some rare old wine called the "Haystack Madeira." When I helped to empty one of the few remaining bottles about 1880 I asked its age and Col. Edward Lloyd said that when he rebottled it many years before it had on it a certain mark of age. My calculation seemed to take it back to 1783 when the British landed on 13 March of that year and I think it probable it got its name from its being "one of the articles removed to a place of safety"—hidden in a haystack.

which has a (disused) billiard room over it. The lawn is kept close cut and smooth and in my boyhood days there were several wooden balls lying around which had evidently been once used for bowling. In the spacious Greenhouse, the high windows of which looked to the South, were formerly kept lemon and orange trees, century (cactus) and other plants, which in summer were set out in the garden. The oranges were hardly edible but the lemons were of fine quality and supplied the house. On each side of this lawn is a dense line of shrubbery—lilac, mock-orange (syringa), althea, &c.—out of the middle of which once rose rows of very large Lombardy poplar trees, visible from Wye and Miles Rivers and Eastern Bay. But as with others of the species throughout the country, these trees began to decay about 1860 and it was found necessary first to top them and finally to remove them altogether. Since then the shrubbery has grown higher and denser in consequence.

A cross walk extends across the middle of the garden (except over the lawn), the part West of the lawn being bordered by altheas with flowers of many colors, and the part East between tall bushes of an unknown kind which arch overhead and dim the light underneath even in midday. An immense grapevine, running far in and over the tops of the bushes, had to be recently removed.

“Lovers’ Walk” is along the West line of the garden for more than a hundred yards to an arbor in a secluded corner, a grass walk bordered by high shrubbery and some trees, and no doubt it has been used as indicated by its name for many generations.

Perhaps the most noticeable and attractive feature of the garden is the great quantity of box, generally waist-high and broad, bordering straight or curving gravelled walks and sometimes permitted to rise into high bushes, pure green or variegated. Althea, with blossoms of different hues, is almost superabundant. There is crape myrtle with its beautiful bloom, and in the lower part of the garden, near the graveyard wall, once stood a large sub-tropical mimosa tree, its broad top covered in

LOVERS' WALK







BOX AND GRAVEL WALK

season with a feathery and sweet-smelling pink bloom, attracting thousands of bees and other honey-loving insects; this is now gone but a young tree is growing in its place.

The "Chesapeake Bay" dog was in the days when ducks were plentiful a favorite along the Bay shore and was said to be a breed peculiar to that locality. I remember reading many (about seventy) years ago in a sporting or agricultural publication (the *Turf Register* or *Turf, Field and Farm*?), a perhaps doubtful account of their origin or introduction into Maryland. It said that in the time of Governor Edward Lloyd two dogs were found on an abandoned vessel (I think off Newfoundland) and were brought to Maryland and given to Governor Lloyd and that the breed has descended from them. But there are two varieties, the one a dark seal brown with curlier hair, the other buff colored and of larger frame. Having an outer and an inner close fur to withstand cold and water they are unrivalled for retrieving winter water fowl. They will face any kind of weather or condition of water and I have seen the water freeze on them on coming out. But with the diminishing of ducks and geese the race is disappearing from the old homes around the Chesapeake.

A link between before and after the Civil War conditions at Wye was a familiar figure to visitors. Harrison, after the emancipation, retained his attachment to the family and place and remained as coachman and gardener until a few years ago. Many of his odd sayings and his attitude towards his surroundings are remembered. He seemed in time to look on himself as a very part of the establishment and almost as if sharing in an humble way in its ownership. He once extended a cordial invitation to the writer, "Come here whenever you feel like it." He is deservedly held in affectionate remembrance by the family.

THE REAL AUTHOR OF THE "AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES."

E. ALFRED JONES, M. A., F. R. HIST. S.

[The life of this remarkable soldier of fortune is known to the general reader only through the brief sketches in biographical dictionaries, which are of course based on the work here under discussion. The title of the original publication is: "Authentic Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esq., Ambassador from the united nations of Creeks and Cherokees, to the Court of London." London, 1791. The Society has in its collections two reprints: "The Life of General W. A. Bowles, a native of America—Born of English Parents in Frederic County, Maryland, in the year 1764. London—Printed: New York, 1803." The second appears in: "Public Characters or contemporary biography." Baltimore, Bon-sal and Niles, 1803. Further references to Bowles' career may be found in *American Historical Review*, Vol. 7, p. 708, and several of his letters in same journal, at pp. 726, 728, 733 and 734.—Ed.]

The authorship of this interesting work is ascribed in the catalogue of the British Museum (where there are two copies) to one Captain Bayntan; and in *Book Prices Current*, recording a sale of a copy in 1913, one Captain Boynton, an author of works of history and travel, is credited with it.

I hope to show from internal evidence that the real author was Captain Benjamin Baynton, an American by birth and a loyalist in the Revolution.

The amazing career of that romantic figure, William Augustus Bowles, "Ambassador from the Creeks and Cherokees to the Court of London," as he is described on the title page of the "Memoirs," is well-known from various biographical dictionaries; but it may not be inappropriate as an introductory note to recall that he was born of English parents, in Frederick County, Maryland, in 1764. This year of his birth agrees virtually with the unpublished record in the Public Record Office in London (Ind: 5605), which was probably derived from his own statement when he was put on half-pay as an

Ensign in the Maryland Loyalists at the end of the American War of Independence. From this official record (together with Ind: 5604 and 5606) the additional information is obtained of his service in this distinguished loyalist regiment—important information which is not revealed in the "Memoirs."¹

And now a word on the Maryland Loyalists. The Orderly Book of the regiment, from June to October 1778, kept by Captain Caleb Jones,² was edited by Paul Leicester Ford in 1891, and here we are told that the officers were drawn entirely from Maryland. To this information may be added the fact that not only were they drawn from Maryland but also that all those who survived the war or were put on half-pay were born in America, except two. The exceptions were the Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, James Chalmers,³ a Scotsman by birth, and Lieutenant Elijah Williams, whose place of origin is not recorded in the half-pay list. The date of the commission of James Chalmers was October 14, 1777, and in his unpublished memorial he states that his regiment marched 400 strong, of whom 130 were natives of Maryland. Chalmers, a considerable landowner in Chester parish in Kent County, Maryland, was a parishioner of the Rev. John Paterson,⁴ a spirited loyalist, who declared publicly that there was more liberty in Turkey than in Maryland in the early days of the Revolution, and who became Chaplain of this regiment. Colonel Chalmers, who claims to have been the first person in the province to be

¹ The "Memoirs" were published in the *American Magazine of History*, No. 46, but the authorship is not stated.

² Sheriff of Somerset County, Maryland, a grantee of St. John, New Brunswick; on half pay until 1817, when he probably died (Ind: 5605-6).

³ Ind: 5605-6; W. O. 42/C 10; A. O. 12/6, ff. 29-46; A. O. 12/100, f. 220; A. O. 13/39; *Report of Bureau of Archives, Province of Ontario*, 1904, pp. 1164-6.

⁴ This clergyman was born in Cecil County, Maryland; arrested as a spy and confined in gaol from August 27, 1777, to March 23, 1778, when he escaped from gaol and fled to Philadelphia. Here he was appointed Chaplain to the Maryland Loyalists and served as such until the end of the war. He died, June 4, 1810. (T. 50/8; T. 50/22; T. 50/42; A. O. 459/7; A. O. 12/8, ff. 23-32; A. O. 12/100, f. 118; A. O. 13/83; Force, *American Archives*, Ser. IV, Vol. IV, p. 714).

attainted, was the author of a pamphlet called *Plain Truth*,⁵ written in answer to what he calls the "insidious inflammatory pamphlet," *Common Sense*. The offer of the command of a Pennsylvania regiment in the American army failed to seduce him from his loyalty to his Sovereign and the British Constitution. His own considerable fortune was enlarged by substantial additions to his landed estate in Pennsylvania and Maryland by his marriage in 1763 to Arianna Margaretta Jekyll, daughter of John Jekyll, the younger, Collector of Customs at Boston, Massachusetts, and his wife, Margaret, daughter of Edward and Anna Francina Shippen, of Philadelphia. He served with the British Army in the West Indies in 1793 and acquitted himself well. He died October 4, 1806, at the London home of his son, Major Alexander Jekyll Chalmers, of the 55th Foot.

One of the British Museum copies of the "Memoirs" contains a large number of manuscript notes and is endorsed:

"written by Capt. Baynton of the
Provincial American Troops."

The important additional information is also recorded in this copy that the "Memoirs" were written "in London in a fit of sickness to amuse himself. General Bowles by no means appears to be pleased with these Memoirs, which were written without his knowledge, tho perhaps many of the facts contained in them might have been gleaned from Conversations with him." Captain Baynton would "vouch for the truth of the facts contained in them."

Before adding copies of the additional manuscript notes made by Captain Benjamin Baynton to the copy of the "Memoirs" in the British Museum, it may be convenient to record some facts in his own career, derived from unpublished records.

His father was a trader among the Indians and suffered a loss of nearly £100,000 in Pennsylvania currency by the seizure of his property by the warriors of the Indians. By a treaty

⁵ The pamphlet, *Plain Truth*, was published under the *nom de guerre* of "Candidus."

held at the house of Sir William Johnson in the province of New York in 1768 his father was granted an immense tract of land called the Indiana, comprising one of the most fertile countries in the world. His father also held a large number of shares in the land known as Vandalia,⁶ which was seized by the Legislature of Virginia and sold. These facts are taken from what would seem to be a copy of his memorial.⁷ (Public Record Office: A. O. 13/95).

Baynton was appointed Lieutenant in the Pennsylvania Loyalists, October 14, 1777 (Ind: 5604). He distinguished himself at the storming of a redoubt near Mobile⁸ in West Florida, where he was wounded and taken prisoner. During the siege of Pensacola⁹ (where he first met Bowles) he was one of the few of his regiment who survived from being blown up by the Spaniards. At the end of the war he was put on half-pay as Captain and served in the Pembroke Fencible Cavalry. In 1785 Captain Baynton returned to America in the hope of recovering his confiscated property, but failed after two years' residence there. He married as a widower, February 2, 1811, Sarah Savage Featherstonhaugh Leigh, of the Parish of Stoke

⁶ "Vandalia" was sold to Walpole and others in England, but the connection was terminated by the American Revolution.

⁷ The original memorial may be in A. O. 13/70; but it is too damaged for inspection.

⁸ In January 1780 Bowles fought with unexampled bravery with the small force of 50 British, including Baynton, in an attack on Mobile, defended by 400 Spanish, who fled in disorder, pursued by the Creeks ("Memoirs").

⁹ From 15 June, 1779, when the King of Spain sanctified his alliance with a virtual republic by declaring war against Great Britain, and from 20 August in the same year, when the independence of the American States was proclaimed at New Orleans "by beat of drum," Spanish troops were engaged in several actions with British forces in West Florida. The culminating point was reached in 1781. Don Bernardo de Galvez in command of a land force of French and Spanish, estimated at 4,000 strong, in combination with the Spanish fleet, proceeded on 12 March to besiege Pensacola, which was defended by a handful of men, including the two loyalist corps, the Pennsylvania Loyalists and the Maryland Loyalists, much reduced in numbers by sickness, commanded by General John Campbell. With marked courage, enlivened by several assaults on the besiegers, this little body of

Fleming, in the Parish Church of St. Thomas, Devon. He died, February 21, 1817, and was buried at St. Saviour's in the Island of Jersey, being described as Major (A. O. 12/102, f. 195; W. O. 25/3090).

The following MS. notes are inside the cover, at the beginning, of the copy of the "Memoirs" in the British Museum.

Presented by Mr Steward May 28, 1791.

Creeks have a National Music peculiar to themselves, not the least adumbration of similitude between their language & that of the Cherokees their Neighbours.

Dallee, the number two in the language of the Cherokees.

Cobbogee, the same number in that of the Creeks. The Dogs have all erect ears & bark unlike any other of the American Dogs.

Physicians amongst the Creeks, or at least Pretenders to cure diseases. The Venereal Disease amongst them (Syphilis) & cur'd by herbs of the Country.

Ipecacuana found amongst them in great quantities as well as Arnotto. The first is of two sorts. The best is good as that from Brazil.

Creeks in their marches carry no Tents with them & in rainy weather make themselves a covering from the Bark of Trees.

Fight with Spears, introduced amongst them by General Bowles, with sabres & with (?)rifled Barrell Guns.

Like other old Rivers a La Nage in their military expeditions—their War Canoes carry fifty men.

defenders held on with great tenacity and determination until the 8 May, when a shell fell upon their magazine and exploded it, carrying away the main part of the advanced works and rendering their position untenable in the presence of the overwhelming force of the enemy. Rather than sacrifice the lives of his men in a futile effort to defend the place for a few hours against inevitable defeat, General Campbell and Peter Chester, Governor of West Florida, signed articles of surrender on the following day. (Hist. MSS. Comm. *Report on the American MSS. in the Royal Institution*, Vol. II, pp. 278, 279, 281, 285-7. W. H. Siebert, "The Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District," in *Mississippi Valley Hist. Review*, Vol. II, March, 1916, pp. 476-7.)

Unitoy the name of one of the Cherokees with Gen. Bowles a q man of a very engaging countenance & manners, & whose (?) ornaments to his Cap, (which are in a very pretty taste) were put together by himself.

The Creek Country, abounds with herds of small black Cattle, which are not now as formerly 'in nedio positi.'

TITLE PAGE

[Printed]

AUTHENTIC MEMOIRS

OF

WILLIAM AUGUSTUS BOWLES, ESQUIRE

ETC... ETC.

[MS. notes]

written

by Capt. Baynton of the Provincial American Troops, who to he would vouch for the truth of the facts contained in them, & that they were written in London in a fit of sickness to amuse himself. General Bowles by no means appears to be pleas'd with these Memoirs, & says they were written without his knowledge tho perhaps many of the facts contained in them might have been gleaned from Conversations with him.

The following notes are written on different pages: ¹⁰

[p. 6.] (after paragraph ending "the strictest enquiry," of part "To the Public"). The following Facts were collected from two or three Conversations with Mr Bowles at the Adelphi Hotel,¹¹ January & February 1791.

Creeks can bring twenty thousand fighting Men into the Field.

Principal Commodities of their Country, Rice, Indigo, Isinglass, Drugs.

Punishment for Adultery. Clipping close to the head the Ears of both the Offenders.

¹⁰ The handwriting is difficult to decipher, and the accuracy of some words is doubtful.

¹¹ Probably the Adelphi Hotel, in the Adelphi, off the Strand.

Near five hundred Miles of Coast, & Disputed Sea
Ports, (?) San Mare.

Mr Bowles' business in England [was to?] procure free Ports in North America & in the West Indies for the exportation of the Commodities of the Creeks Country. He has at length succeeded in his object & is in the Act of Parliament now preparing *General* Bowles, from his being at present General of the Creek Indians. Creeks and Cherokees are united together in a league offensive and defensive, the Chopters [?Choctaws] & Chuckesees [?Chickasaws] are their Allies.

The Council of the Creeks is composed of Seventy Two Persons, all of them of a certain rank of persons, like that of the Nobility of Europe.

The Chief of the Cherokees is chosen for a year, by the Council. He may be rechosen at every time. Mr Bowles has at present that Office.

Mosgogee the name of the Creek Country in the Language of it.

No Priests amongst the Creeks, they saying, "that every man must paddle his Canoe in his own way." The Supreme Being they denominate the "Giver of Breath" a beleive(?) in a future state of man(?) & races exists(?).

The Sound of Th, a sound very common in the Mexican language, occurs very often in theirs.

Spirituos Liquors are forbidden to be imported into the Creeks Country under very severe penalties.

Spanish Missionaries prohibited from exercising their Ministry amongst them.

Coitous in Creek Language the name of their Principal Town. Spanish Dollars very current amongst them. They meet in Council sometimes at four in the morning, & talk done two or three days together an infusion of an Herb of a black colour is carried about at Council. The infusion not intoxicating.

Agriculture most cultivated by the Creeks, of Wheat they have a great quantity.

A man is now living amongst the Creeks upwards of one hundred & Thirty³⁰ years of age, who went very lately to war & was successfull. Mr B. asked him why at his time of life, he expos'd himself so much, he said that (*Nulla Venere uti valeri* (?) Life was of no great consequence to him, that his only pleasure now was to see Young Men fight. This old man remembers very well a fight with the Spaniards near a river that is now called the "Bloody River" in 1701.

The Creeks like many other more letter'd Nation than themselves, suppose themselves Aborigines of their own Country. The tradition indeed amongst the Mexicans on the first arrival of the Spaniards was that themselves (?) came from the North.

The Cherokee & Creek language has not the least affinity.

The Garrison of the Spanish Port of San Marco, consists of fifty men only.

Creek's method of dressing meat is chiefly by baking in the manner of the People of Olahaite (?).

The Cherokees are greatly depopulated by drinking Spirits afforded them by their good Neighbours the Americans & once in a Conversation respecting the method of destroying the Indians a famous American Dr. [Doctor] said, "that as they were all fond of drinking, something might be put into their strong drink that in one day might completely extirpate the whole race.

[written at bottom of page 9, to follow after sentence ending "form of a trial."]:—

He [Bowles] is said to have been dismiss the service for insolent language to one of his superior Officers,

[written at bottom of page 51, referring to "Lucayan Herald."]:—

republished in the Public Advertiser for January 17 & in the Diary, two or three days afterwards.

p. 70, to precede 2nd paragraph. "A player":—

He acted the part of Tanga in the Revenge.

p. 70, referring to "but on a sign post"—(last line):—
& he painted the Scenes himself.

p. 71, note at bottom of page:—

Mr Bowles has painted a Miniature of Capt. Baynton.

p. 77, at bottom of page, referring to 1st line "direct eye of Mr. Bowles to":—

he disclaims his having had my? (any?) consent in this publication.

p. 79, after An Observer of Mankind (end):—

The leading features of Mr. Bowles's Character according to Capt. Campbell are courage & humanity. In conversation he appears to be a perfectly easy & good humourd man, his voice & manner are by no means impressive, yet he is extremely communicative on Questions that are put to him, & answers them always with great good sense & great alacrity. He attended Dr Pearsons Chymical Lectures in the Winter of 1791 in London & the Compiler of the MSS notes(?) respecting him, & | the Creeks in this book? | had the honour to present him with Dr Lewis's "Philosophical Commerce of Arts" as a book that he thought might be useful to him in his efforts to improve the Agriculture the Commerce, the Arts of the India Nations of which he was the Chief in 1791. His representation to the King of England respecting the advantage to be derived from opening the Ports of the British Islands in the West Indies & the Ports in North America belonging to the Crown of England to the Creek Nation is very well drawn up as well as to language as to reasoning, with occasionally some very st...d & acute remarks in it. There is great complaint made in it of a Monopoly of the commodities the Creek Nation has occasion for, from England, carried on by a Scotch House in London, with the approbation of the French Government.

Accounts hav been received in February 1791 of the entire defeat of the Americans by the United Nations of the Creeks & Cherokees & a Treaty of Peace was then negotiating between them Americans & the Creeks as well as between the Spaniards & that Nation & their Allies.

A MILITANT SURGEON OF THE REVOLUTION

SOME LETTERS OF RICHARD PINDELL, M. D.

[Richard Pindell was born at Hagerstown, Md., in 1755. He was a surgeon in the First Maryland Regiment under Col. Otho Holland Williams, in the Revolution, from January 1, 1777, to the dissolution of the Army, in 1783; he was with General Greene, 1780-81. He was a member of the Society of Cincinnati of Maryland; practiced medicine at Hagerstown after the war; one of the Founders of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland; First Master of Mount Moriah Lodge, Hagerstown, 1802; Grand Master Grand Lodge A. F. and A. M. of Maryland, 1806-07; Member of the Senate of Maryland, 1809; pensioned by the State and the United States for services in the Revolution; moved to Lexington, Kentucky, 1813; family physician of Henry Clay. Died at Lexington, Kentucky, March 20, 1833.

These letters are from the Otho Holland Williams collection.]

Charlotte May 26th 1781

D^r Colo

The dye is cast, we were yesterday reduced to the disagreeable necessity of Amputating one of our Dearest Friends, Who ever since he reached this place has suffered one continued scene of pain without any other unfavourable appearance that could justify an Amputation From the nature of the parts injured I was always fearful that this would be his Lot but I am persuaded if we could have convinced him of the necessity of undergoing momentary pain for future advantages we might have saved the Arm. he was prepossessed that an amputation would be the Derniere resorte & he would not consent to suffer any pain but what would be attendant on it. The position was unfavourable to the discharge of Matter formed about the joint & counter openings might have given a free discharge to it & prevented the Bones which were exposed from becoming carious, but to this however forcibly inculcated he would never consent. Two days before the operation the Arm became

swelled & Odematous. this with the approaching debility determined us in favour of the Amputation. I hope if no accident happens we shall soon have him on foot & make him forsake his now darling Bed to which he was never under the necessity of being so much attached before. I know not what to say of Bruff his weak State renders his fate very precarious. if any alteration has taken place I think it is for the better tho scarcely perceptible Mr Ball is also in an unfavourable situation you must excuse me Dr Col. for not writing oftener. believe me my hands are full I wish you every success & happiness you can wish. Col Morris will relate our Distresses here for want of Stores & Medicines many Poor fellows have & must suffer for want of Wine the Col was so lucky as to get a little from Mr Forsyth. this Bruff¹ & Ball has shared. when its gone God knows what we shall do.

I am Yours
most sincerely
R Pindell

Col. Ford² desires to be remembered in a very particular manner. he requests you will send him some linnen [you] promised to let him have for overalls.

If any clothing should be left, I hope those who were deficient in last years draft will have it made up in this. I am much in want of money if the Gen^l has it in his power to

¹ James Bruff, 2d Lieut. Maryland Line, 10th Dec. 1776; 1st Lieut. 7 Oct. 1777; trans. to 5th Md. 1 Jan. 1781; Captain, 8 Sept. 1781; wounded and taken prisoner at Camden, 25 April, 1781, exchanged and served until April 1783; Capt. Artillerists, U. S. Army, 2d June, 1794; Major 1st Artillerists, 2 June, 1794; resigned 30 June 1807.—*Heitman*.

² Benjamin Ford or Foard, 1st Lieut. of Smallwood's regiment, 14 Jan. 1776; Capt. May 1776; Major 2d Md. 10 Dec. 1776; Lieut. Col. 6th Md. 17 April 1777; trans. to 5th Md. 1 Jan. 1781; died 27th April, 1781, of wounds received at Hobkirk's Hill, 25 April 1781.—*Heitman*.

The above date of death is evidently erroneous, but Ford must have died within a day or two of the time this letter was written, as John E. Howard became Lt. Col. Com. Fifth Regiment, 3 June, 1781, "Col. Foard's death."—*Archives*, Vol. 18: 481. Probably the amputation referred to above was performed on Col. Foard.—Ed.

return that which you let him have shall thank you to send it to me by first opp^y I cannot get any Clothes made for the want of it. I have wrote to the Gen^l respecting a Horse lost at the Cow Penns. shall thank you also to hear his decision & let me know it. I am Poor or I should not trouble him on that head the loss of Two Horses comes heavy on me

Col^o Otho H. Williams

Camp

Jan^y 6th 1789

Dear General

Yours of the 30th Ult. I received last evening & am happy to Inform you that your Brother arrived a few hours before the Rec^t of it, in tollerable health & Spirits, so that you have anticipated in part the pleasures afforded on the Occasion. We had some days heard of his Arrival at Fort Pitt, and I should have communicated the pleasing Intelligence, before this, had I not been informed that Mr Williams intended Sending an Express to you for that purpose Your Dear Sister Mr^s Chapline departed this life last Saturday week & her remains were deposited at Williams Port, by the side of your Dearly beloved & much lamented Sister Stull the tuesday following We had a Meeting yesterday & have the pleasing prospect of seeing the Federal Tickett prevail by a great Majority, as we are all anxious & have pledged ourselves to one another that every exertion shall be made, to bring in Voters, & to use every effort to counteract the Dark & Villainous designs of the Antis.

Doct^r Cruz from your Town has been some days in this County, circulating infamous falsehoods against the Federalists. It appears that they wish to raise a Distinction between the Germans & Americans & to create Animosities among us. he made his appearance yesterday evening at Beltzhoven when his designs were soon fathomed, and it was hinted that a Coat of Tar & Feathers, would be given him as a reward for his Services, if he did not quickly make his Excape, which he accordingly did altho it was dark & very Cold

It gives me pleasure to hear that our Friend Howard is not likely to be dazled with the Exalted rank he Bears. Your Opinions of him have always corresponded with mine. I esteem him highly, and am happy to find that his Countrymen have at length discovered his great worth. I wish him, his family & yours every possible happiness; am Dr Gen^l

Yours sincerely

R Pindell

excuse this scroll as I was up last evening & am now hurried with writing Letters to the *Big Captains* in our Vicinity requesting their exertions at the Ensuing Election

My best respects to Mr Williams & love to Merey I have just got 2 Bushels of nuts for you which shall be sent by the first Waggon.

Doct^r P. Thomas is requested to give this Letter as Speedy a conveyance as possible & Oblige his Friend & H Serv^t

R. Pindell

General O. H. Williams
Baltimore Town

Lexington Sept. 24th 1816

My Dear Edw^d

I am happy to Inform you that my Health has been much better of late. I rise early, go to bed regularly when Business will permit & have given up totally frequenting Taverns. We now and then get a Glass of Wine in a few Houses (very few Indeed) but there is nothing here like the truly Social convivial Parties, we used to enjoy in my Old walks about Hagers Town Fountain Rock & Springfield Mt Pelier & Long Meadows. The People who Inhabite here are, I think of a Dift^t Race, or perhaps of vitiated or more refined Habits. I envy them not their singularity.

The notes you gave Williamson have been destroyed. I, like yourself, laboured under some degree of Infatuation, for which I cannot acc^t during the Rage for Lottery in this Quarter &

expended more in Ticketts than I ever did or shall ever do again. Tis true I hoped fortune might be disposed to shew a friendly aspect, in some shape or other & was willing to try my luck, as I found little was to be gained by hard & assiduous labor. the Bubble has burst & I shall be hereafter contented to earn my Bread as heretofore by the sweat of my Brow

Your favourite Horse is in fine Heart eats heartily & I presume suffers no Pain but his Diseased Frame will render him hereafter a Cripple. I wish sincerely you had him at Springfield, where he might spend the remainder of his days in ease & quiet. while old Ball lives he will suffer for nothing even should his own Children be in need of Sustenance. He is truly devoted to him. Agreeably to the Bargain Gen^l Shelby made with him you are not bound to pay one Cent towards his Keep as he was to have \$50 if he cured him & the Horse was to remain his Property, if he did not. However the Old fellow is Poor & an Old Veteran of the Revolution. it would therefore be Charitable to send him a few Dollars, when convenient.

I have heard of the Death of Mrs Belt & Miss Clagett & the unfortunate accident that happend my Dear Friend Carr's Daughter & sincerely Sympathize with their Relations & Friends. Carr & his Family are very dear to me & have ever been my first favourites with the Groupe of your Dear Connections (assembled when you wrote me) I know no Distinction. It is sufficient to say that they hold one of the Corners nearest my Heart. An honest or a Better man than Carr God never made. Amongst the Families an Intimacy & Friendship has ever Existed & I hope will never be diminished while we are here permitted to enjoy the finer feelings of Human Nature. They all know I love them as if they were my own.

The Bulletin you mention was answered some time Since. I twas delayed however (from a variety of Circumstances too numerous to detail & which I regretted very much. Yours has also been procrastinated much beyond my wish. But you know not my troubles and God forbid you should ever have encounter the Trials that have been Imposed on me. The Relation of

them would only serve to excite unpleasant feelings I will therefore refrain to detail them, not wishing to excite pain in the Bosom of my Friend.

But amidst all Gloom, their Breaks out a Ray of Hope & Comfort, that things will not always remain thus unpropitious. Present me Affectionately, To all the Persons you mentioned. My Paper is nearly filled & I will not enumerate I wish I could only personally Testify how much I love them and you.

I am with Sincerity

Your Aff^t Friend & Br

R Pindell

It will rejoice you to learn that my Dear Children & Grand Children are all in the Enjoyment of high Health except Eliza and Mary Pindle whose Health has been much chekered.

Capt. Edw^d G. Williams

near

Williams Port

Maryland

Lexington Dec^r 8th 1816

My Dear Friends

You have all heard of my Misfortunes, since I left Maryland, and that added to Pecuniary Embarrassments, I have had to encounter the Severest Tortures of the most painful Disease that Human Nature was ever Afflicted with, which frequently disqualifies me for Professional duties & has broken my Spirits. I am now turned of three Score, and find myself declining rapidly, and in the common course of Nature, shall not long be capable of Effective Exertions, to procure a Maintenance & should the hand of Providence continue to Afflict me, I shall in my Old Age, be reduced to Want; or be an incumbrance to my Friends. Thus Situated, I have with much reluctance, with the Advice of my Friends determined to apply to the Assembly of my Native State, to remunerate me for two Valuable Horses, taken from me in the Carolina's during the

Revolutionary War, while doing Extra Duty, and also to make good to me the Deficiency of half pay, so unjustly withheld from me by the General Government who were petitioned in Vain.

Fired by the Love of Liberty, I went in early life into the Service of my Country, and Served her in her Struggles for Liberty and Independence for the Space of Six years and a half (after having Previously performed two Years of Duty in the Militia) and until the Close of the War. Having repeatedly rejected the most flattering and Lucrative offers, during the War, if I would leave the Service and enter into Private Practice, by which I could without Doubt have made an Ample Fortune. I think I can assert without Boasting, that no one Served his Country more Zealously or faithfully, or who suffered in every Respect greater Hardships and privations, not only in the Staff but have the Vanity to think, that I performed some Military Atchievements, that would have done Honour to those who duty it was to meet in Battle the Bristled Bayonets. I will mention to you, as Friends some of those Feats, hastily drawn up, but for the Truth of which, I am ready to Swear before High Heaven

At the Action of Brandywine, the first Engagement I ever witnessed, I rallied a considerable number of the Retreating Troops, formed them in Order, after they were driven from the Field & Kept command of them until Col^o Hall fell in with us & took the Command. I am proud to Acknowledge that I was encouraged thereto by Mr W^m Smith late of Baltimore, then a Member of Congress, & I believe deputed by that Honble Body to a Conference with Gen^l Washington, of whom I must say, that I never Witnessed, greater Bravery presence of Mind than he Mr Smith exhibited on that occasion. Not only encouraging the Advance of the Troops who had not been discomfited, but in reanimating those who had been compelled to leave the Feild.

On the Retreat from Pedee, after Gates' Defeat I at the head of a Sargt & four Dragoons of Col^o Washingtons Regi-

ment, who had been left as an Escort to Col now Gen^l Armstrong, I took a Pickett Guard of Seven Men and dispersed a Regiment of Tories. The Prisoners I marched to Hillsborough & Delivered them up to the proper Authority altho daily & almost hourly threatened to be attacked if the Prisoners were not set at Liberty. At the Action of the Cow Penns, I rallied a large Body of the Militia and returned them to the Charge, for which Gen^l Morgan promised on the Feild to put a feather in my Cap, but which Superior considerations, and Disease prevented his accomplishing, having to retreat before a numerous Army & to Conduct a Body of Prisoners at least double the number of his Regulars, to a place of Safety. After the Action I was left on the field to take care of the Wounded, without any Aid or force Except a L^t Hanson³ of Cha^s & St Mary's County & our two waiters. Thus situated I obtained from the British Surgeons a Rec^t for 87 Prisoners, even after a Guard of at least 24 Soldiers and about an Equal number of Waggoners had arrived with waggons to carry them to Charleston. Which receipt I delivered to Gen^l Green on my rejoining the Army on their Advance to Guilford, and which led to the Redemption, from Captivity, an Equal number of American Soldiery. The Second day after Join^g the Army I was detached on the Enemies lines to dress a Wounded Officer a Major Lewis, Protected by Lewis' Brother only. We dispersed on our Rout a large Body of Tory Militia, by my asking the Centinel (or Rather Videt) after his Piece was Cocked & presented at us within a few Paces, having previously challenged us, whether he had seen anything of Col^o Washingtons Dragoons. The day after having performed a Second Tour of Duty fully as hazardous. He arrived at the Plains Guilford a few Minutes before the Gen^l Engagement commenced, where he Witnessed the Brilliant Charge of the Maryland Troops Commanded by her first Son, the Gallant Howard, when he compelled the British Guards to yield the Supremacy to American

³ William Hanson, 2d Lieut., 2d Md. 25 Oct. 1781; trans. to 4th Md. 1st Jan. 1783; served to 15 Nov. 1783.—*Heitman*.

Valour. In this Action he also aided in forming the retreating Troops that had been discomfited. Indeed he was so near as to witness at Brandywine The Cow Penns, Guilford, the Second Action of Camden & the Eutaw Springs, the Splendid Charges made by this distinguished Maryland Hero. Sometime after the Action of Guilford I was again Attached to the Infantry then Commanded by the Intrepid Gen^l Williams, Gen^l Morgan having been so diseased by the Rheumatism that he was compelled to return home in Litter, and not from any defections as has been represented by Little Harry Lee in his Memoirs. I was with Col^o afterwards Gen^l Williams, in the Action of Ready Fork of Deep River. In which I hazarded my life by carrying Instructions from Gen^l then Col^o Lee to Capt^t Carrs who commanded the Infantry of his Legion, under a Heavy fire and after returning I was requested by Gen^l Williams to ride up the Road & Seek out a Strong Position for the Troops to form on in case they should be driven from their then Position.

That dashing Boldly on he was Hailed by a Tory Centinel not very distant from the Troops on whom he attempted to ride.

In that case certain Death was averted by asking him, when within a few Paces, when his Rifle was cocked & Presented at my Breast, If he had seen any thing of Washington's Dragoons. at the mention of the name of Washington the Centinel came to trailed Arms & ran to the Guard, whom I saw fleeing in the greatest Trepidation. This was the Guard to that Body of Tories that were few minutes after cut to pieces by Washington's Dragoons. In the second Action of Camden I aided the Officers in repeatedly rallying and keeping in Order a great Number of the retreating Troops, that after the Officers were exhausted and worn down by fatigue I at length kept them together by my Own personal Exertions, being well mounted on a Horse taken by Sargt Everhart ⁴ from a British Officer at

⁴ Lawrence Everhart, born in Middletown valley, Frederick Co., Md., May 6, 1755; enrolled as a private in Capt. Jacob Goode's Co. at Taneytown, 1st Aug. 1776; present at the Battle of Long Island, 27 Aug. 1776; at

the Cow Penns, after having been cruelly wounded & taken Prisoner by Picking up & presenting one of their own Muskets at the Officer as he was retreating by the spot Tarlton had left him.

On this Retreat I discovered a Body of Armed Men Marching at a distance on our Left, and apprehending they were British Troops marching to out flank us I reconnoitered them in Person & to my great Joy found them to be the remains of the Advance Guard, whom the Captain had kept together, after they were driven from the Field. The Officer informed me that he endeavoured to keep pace with our party whom he kept in View. His men marched in such order that the British Dragoons were afraid to assail him or us altho close in our Rear. In this Action I kept together more men than perhaps any Officer on the Field except Col^o Howard. The Officers being worn down by fatigue.

In this Retreat I brought from the Field Lt Dyer ⁵ of the Maryland Troops who was about to Surrender, at the Risque of my life, the British Dragoons closely pursuing & firing upon us. At the Action of Eutaw Springs, after having dressed some wounded Soldiers, of the Advanced Corps, who had fallen in with a British foraging Party early in the morning I pushed on to join the Troops & arrived on the Field just as the Grand Charge was Ordered. Discovering that some of the Troops formed on the left of the Road, under the Command of the Brave and Intrepid Ewing ⁶ had discovered a disposition to hang

White Plains, 28 Oct. 1776; at Trenton, 26 Dec. 1776. In the summer of 1778 he re-enlisted at Frederick in a regiment of horse commanded by Col. William Washington and took part in the Southern campaign and was wounded in Jan. 1781; was present at the capitulation at Yorktown, where he met General Lafayette. He took part in the reception to that officer on his visit to America in 1825.

⁵ Edward Dyer, 2d Lieut., 2d Md., 14 Jan. 1777; 1st Lieut., 27 May, 1778; Captain-Lieut. 10 Sept. 1780; Capt. 3 June, 1781; retired, 1 Jan. 1783.—*Heitman*.

⁶ James Ewing, Ensign, 2d Md., 11 April, 1777; 1st Lieut. 29 May, 1778; trans. to 1st Md. 1 Jan. 1781; wounded at Eutaw Springs, 8 Sept. 1781; Capt. 6 Nov. 1781; retired 1 Jan. 1783.—*Heitman*.

back & were geting into Disorder unobserved by this Hero who was dauntlessly advancing in their Front, I rode to him under a Heavy Fire of Both Cannon & Musketry & aided him in forming his men at the risque of my life & they a few seconds after took two Peices of British Artillery, Killing & dispersing all the Troops destined to Guard them

In this Charge Ewing rec^d Seven Wounds & nearly all his Men were Killed & wounded.

Of this Brave fellow Ewing too much cannot be said. On the Retreat from the Pedee after Gates' Defeat I met him marching with 2 Sargeants & 24 Men & a Surgeons Mate to fight 500 Tories in a Pitched Battle.

He had been left on the Deep River, where the Maryland Troops were reorganised to take Charge of the Sick, & the Heavy Baggage of the Army, and after the Troops had marched from him some distance he was repeatedly threatened to be attacked by the Tories. He at length told them that he could beat 500 of them with a Sargeants Guard, and they might name the place, which was fixed on.

We gave him the first Information of Gates' Defeat he returned to his Post, by a forced march; & fearing that the Tories might make an Attempt on his Camp before he could arrive, we would not encumber him with the Prisoners we had taken.

In the Action of Eutaw I dressed several Officers on the Field of Battle, amongst them the Veteran Howard, who could not be prevailed on to leave the Feild altho Suffering under a painful wound, for many Hours. I was also to Dress the Gallant Cap^t Dobson, when he by my side having received a wound thro' the Body. I have written to Howard who I have learned is in the Senate. I wish you to prevail on him to hand in my Memorial, if he thinks it deserving of his notice. I have Several Friends in the House, Gale, Clem^t & Rod^k Dorsey Taney & some others. Clem^t Dorsey was once mine & the Soldiers Friend. I should have written you earlier but thought I was getting well & could live until a gen^l Law should be past in favour of the Diseased & Super Annated of

the Old war as well as the late I have however again had to Suffer, which has prevented my writing until this late Hour

I am my Dear Friends, without flattery

Yours truly & Sincerely

R. Pindell

The Honble

Doctor Frisby Tilghman

Jacob Schnebley

Capt. Edw^d G. Williams

John Bowles Esquire

City of Annapolis

Maryland

[John Eager Howard to Edward G. Williams, enclosing the foregoing memorial.]

Belvidere Jan^{ry} 20th 1817

Dear Sir

Your Brother William was here on Saturday when I shewed him the enclosed letter from Doct. Pindell, and mentioned to him that I intended to write to you and request you to propose & endeavour to get passed a resolution allowing the Doct^r half pay during life. He said he had no doubt of your disposition to advocate such a proposal.

I shall enclose the Doctor's letter that you may shew it to those members who you may judge will be friendly, but as he has in confidence made known to me his real situation, I wish the letter may only be shewn to persons who may be disposed to relieve him.

I well know the opinion your Father and Colonel Hall entertained of the Doctor's merit & Services.

I am under obligations to him for his great attention to me when wounded, and I do believe that he saved the lives of many brave men, as far as it was possible for him to afford relief, it was done, not only the men of the army received his attention, but I know that the Militia and people of the Country

who had been wounded, received his attention whenever opportunity offered. In the Southern Country opportunity frequently occurred.

Doct^r Pindell was appointed Surgeon to the 4th or Colonel Hall's regiment, in which I was Major, early in the year 1777 and continued to the end of the war.

I wish you to speak to Col^o John Gassaway of Annapolis, Col^o W^m D. Beall of Prince Georges, Col^o Gassaway Watkins and Cap^t I. Sprigg Belt of Anne Arundel, or such of them as you may meet with; they, and indeed every old officer, will give testimony of the Doctors merit & Services.

With respect to paying him for horses Stolen and extra services, the objection is that it will open the door for many applications & therefore I recommend his being allowed half pay, but after consulting with members you will be better able to judge in what way relief can be obtained.

I shall write to some Gentlemen of the Senate. Please to return to me the enclosed letter, at the end of the Session.

I am y^r Obed^t Serv^t

John E. Howard

Edward G. Williams Esq^r

Annapolis

Endorsed:

D^r Richard Pindell's Petition to the M^d Legislature, which E. G. Williams had the honor to present in 1816, and obtained for the veteran, full pay of Col^l of Dragoons for life.

Lexington Ap^l 5th 1817

My Dear Friend

You will no doubt be greatly astonished that I have not answered your truly friendly and welcome letter dated at Annapolis, the day on which the Legislature of my Native State, extended their Beneficent hand towards me. I most sincerely assure you that the omission has not proceeded, from any want of the due sense of your Goodness, But from a Single Expression, contained in your letter in which you promised to give

me the Particulars as soon as you arrived at Springfield. I am on Reflection, fully satisfied that I have too long delayed the Expression of thanks, for your Energetic Exertions in my Behalf. I rely on your goodness of Heart, and your uniform partiality for me, to exempt me from Intentional Error or disrespect towards you. I ever Revered your Father & Mother, and his Children I have ever loved almost as my own. Altho distantly connected by Blood, yet I think there is Closer Affinity in those Ties that ever Bind congenial Souls to each other. The Legislature of my native State, the State of Maryland as far as I am informed has been more generous and liberal towards those who served her in the Days "that tried mens Souls," than any State in the Union. For her Beneficence towards me I hope I feel the most grateful Effusions of the Heart. It has served to rivet affections Inherited from Youth and cannot now be effaced. To Howard, Stewart, Kilty you and all those who so essentially contributed to obtain the Law in my favor, My feelings want Utterance. I believe you have long known my Opinion of Howard. I shall therefore not repeat it again. Stewart was a young Plant, just shooting into Manhood, and was nipped in his first Heroic Effort. At the Action of Eutaw he Commanded the Advanced Guard, or forlorn hope, and fell covered with many & Direful wounds. The Post assigned him by Col^o Washington, to whose Invincible Regement he belonged, is Strong Evidence of his high Standing as an Officer. I rec^d him under my Charge totally deranged. Covered him with my Mantell Dressed his wounds until out of all Danger. You know the Rest. His letter in my behalf, certainly magnified, in a high Degree, my Humble Efforts in those times of trial. Altho the Prospects have brightened by the Liberality of the Legislature, There is yet a Source of Apprehension still haunting me. I am Bound for my son for an immense Sum, which, if he lives, I shall not have to pay, but if he dies, and his Health is extremely bad, I shall be involved in troubles, which at my Age I shall be Illy able to encounter. All my own Debts (and those are Debts contracted for others) I shall have funds to

meet. No friend shall ever have it to say he lost by shewing me a favour.

To y^r Dear Brothers, your and my Relations and Friends I beg to be fondly remembered & particularly those of your House.

I am anxious to hear from you and should be glad as soon as in your Power to be furnished with the Law passed in my favor & when & from whom the States Bounty is to become at. Write me a long letter when you have leisure, and let me know how M^{rs} Kendal & her family M^{rs} Smoot M^{rs} Harrison & the Miss Davis' and all their offspring are Situated.

God bless you all Is the Unabated wish of your Sincere Friend & B^r

Capt Edw^d G. Williams
Springfield
near
Williams Port
Maryland

R. Pindell

EXTRACTS FROM ACCOUNT AND LETTER BOOKS OF
DR. CHARLES CARROLL, OF ANNAPOLIS

(Continued from Vol. XVIII, p. 233.)

S^r

Maryland 7^{br} 14th 1728

You have herewith the first of Nathaniel Wickham on you for £4.. 5.. 0 with w^{ch} please to C^r my Acc^{tt} Capt Cock has three Hogsheads of my Tob on board marked as Underneath (phaps he had some reason for not leaveing me bills of Loading) but I desire you will Enquire therein & by the next let me know if the inclosed be good or have it protested. I am with Respect To M^r Joⁿ Hanbury

by Capt. Cock

&

)|(

xx

Maryland 7^{br} 17th 1728S^r

You'l herewith receive the first of M^{rs} Ruth Howard on Self for £3.. 10 with w^{ch} please to C^r my Acc^{tt} by an Acc^{tt} Current you make me £2.. 16.. in y^r Debt. I had at that time a H^d Tob. by the Severn unaccounted for which with this bill will I believe bring the Ball^{ce} in my favour, w^{ch} I refer till further Opertunity of correspondence.

To W^m Hunt merc^t
in London

Maryland September 23^d 1728S^r

You have inclosed Ullick Burk's first bill of Exch^a on you for £34 S^r with w^{ch} if Good please to C^r my Acc^{tt} he tells me he has ship't Tob in Capt Hart to answer it & that M^r Gest promised to recommend him to you if it should prove Short.

You have allso Richard Barrow on Will^m Barrow at White Church in Shropshire for thirty pounds & a Letter of advice w^{ch} I desire you will negotiate, and if Longer time will make the payment thereof easie please to order it to be given and if it proves good, I desire you will send me the value thereof in White & brown Oznabriggs by the first Ship, but if it proves otherwise please to Return it without the charge of protest.

I had ordered some Tob to Capt. Hart but he haveing more to spare find he has left it out. I shall be glad to have your thoughts of the market or whether it be worth while to hazard any thing on Tobacco for shipping: You have a Morthgage of the Land of one Thomas Taylor on Patapsco River in Baltemore County & as the same lies in the Center of Lands of Myne it would be a convenience to me, therefore I desire the favour you will please to let me have the preference thereof of paying whats due to you; (unless the man shall redeem it) and give

directions to Mr Chapman who has already given me his promise thereof.

Please to write to your friend at
White Church to Enquire what intrest
the Drawer Rec^d Barrow has there and
What it may be worth.

To Mr Philip Smith merc^{tt}
in London

☞ Capt. Hart.

Coppy sent ☞ Cap^t Reynolds of the same date & second Bills

Maryland March 2^d 1728

S^r

Yours to your Son of the first of may Last came to my hands. I am sorry I can not give you an agreeable account of his behaviour and conduct w^{ch} has been such as is very unbecomeing the Son of so honest a father as a recital of all his base transactions would be but ungratefull to you to hear, as they would be to me to relate I will cut them short by telling you that about 8^{br} last he run away from here, Stole a Gentlemans horse & severall other things, & w^{ch} way he is gone I know not; nor do I think it's worth your while to Enquire. I observe a part of the Later End of your Letter wrote in a different hand w^{ch} relates to Wornal Hunt: now Mr Hunt being Dead has left Issue Severall Children the Eldest of whom is now here and being unacquainted with any in them parts, or indeed much; with his father, or Grandfather's Irish affairs he desired (& I promised) I would make Enquirey therein.

Therefore I desire the favour you will get me a State of the matter either from Mr Howlet Parker Mr Richard Nicholson (who is mentioned to have the papers) or any other the best quallefied to give you such an Account in the clearest and Justest light. Please allso to let me know what Kind of an Estate Mr Wornall Hunt's Grand father had what it was worth ☞ Annu^m & whether he did or did not Entail on his Son &

how much it was mortgaged for & to whom or under what circumstances & in whose possession it now is, what such Enquirey shall cost or getting the Coppy's of any will or other writings, please to Let me know, and the same shall be punctually repaid you.

I have a dependance on you in this affair or should have wrote to others, therefore I request you will not disapoint me therein, and when you write please to send Duplicates least a miscarriage happen.

Please to direct your Letters for Doc^r Charles Carroll att Annapolis in Maryland to the care of M^r Phillip Smith Merchant in London.

if you should think it convenient to consult any attorney or Councell herein, pray do; that the same may be thereby put into a cleerer light as for the charge you need be under no fear of its being refunded.

If the case be as the paragraph of your letter Sets forth that there is a thousand pounds due from the Mortgages after incumbrances paid or that possession may be had, M^r Hunt will either come with sufficient Credentials, or send proper powers but for him to come without any certainty would be very indiscreet.

Pay my best Respects to all friends in and about Menagh and accept of the same from

To M^r Ignatius Leary at
Rathnaheen near Menagh
in the County Tipperary Ireland

Maryland March 2^d 1728

Dr Sir

It has been a tedious time since I heard anything from you in pticular, tho' I have by other hands often had an Account of you & other friends in them parts after whom I as often Enquire as oportunity offers.

I am now become the father of a family haveing a Son &

Daughter and in consequence fix't to this part of the world unless better fortune may attend than hither-to has to many of Our Country.

It would be very agreeable to me to have an oportunity of seeing my Country & all my old friends & acquaintance onst more, could I make it in some measure Square with my Intrest for I think like other parts of natures works that tend to their Center I (as I suppose others do) incline to be in my native soil.

Pray make my best Respects Acceptable to your wife & that famely, as allso such more as you think it may be agreeable to.

Previous to the following affair, believe that I now have s I allways had a dependance on your friendship and integrity w^{ch} makes me trouble you herein. In a Letter of the first of May last from Mr Ignatius Leary to his Son was a postscript in a different hand, intimateing that Cap^t Howlet Parker desired Mr Wornell Hunt to come home for that he could put him in possession of his Estate and that there was a thousand pounds due to Hunt after Incumbrances paid & that the Deeds and papers relating thereto were in the hands of Richard Nicholson.

Now the case is with that famely that Mr Wornel Hunt is Dead but has left Issue Severall Children the Eldest of whom is now here & being unacquainted with any body in these parts desired I would make what Enquiry therein w^{ch} was needfull. Since it would be too great a hazard for him to come thither on so slender an Account as a post script of a letter without a name in order thereto I have wrote of this date to Mr Ignatius Leary & desired he would get me a true State thereof, but least any Accident should intervene do likewise request the favour of you to make Enquirey therein or give what assistance may be needfull to Mr Leary to do it I would know what Estate Mr Wornell Hunt's Grandfather had, and what it was worth a year & whether he did not Entail the same or how he did Settle it, & under what circumstance the father Engaged it and how the same now is or whose hands it's in & whether it is to be come at by the Son of Mr Wornell Hunt, or if any such arears be due to him as is mentioned by that Letter.

it may be needfull to get a Coppy of the Grand Fathers will, & the father of Mr Wornell Hunt's & p'haps of the mortgage made by the father or other papers to have the case rightly stated for the Compass of a Letter if so I desire you will order them to be procured as allso if requisite Employ an Attorney or Counsell to State the same.

If the afores^d Mr Richard Nicholson has any papers that will give an ensigt therein I supose he will not refuse the peruseal of them, and no doubt but Mr Howlet Parker will inform what he knows thereof. I believe likewise that Mr John Phelan will be a proper person to consult for that I take him to be well acquainted with the Estates in them parts & Coll^o Magrath.

Whatever Charge may be requisite pray let it not be wanting to get a perfect and true State of the affair and the same shall be punctually remited so that you or Mr Leary or any order from either shall have it in London, on leting me know how much the same will be.

my telling you that a Just account hereof may be of Service to me will not I hope the Less Excite your care, w^{ch} shall be duely acknowledged.

To Mr Laurence Mitchell
att Menagh in the County
Tiperary Ireland

Please to Direct your Letter's for Doc^r Charles Carroll at Annapolis in Maryland to the care of Mr Phillip Smith merchant in London.

Harry Hunt died about the year ago or in the Warr time who was the first aquirer of the Estate & father of John who was father of Wornell the s^d Harry made a will & devised in Tail to his son John Hunt to w^{ch} I believe Fergus Dean is Evidence as I'm informed.

Maryland Apl^l 19th 1729

Mess^{rs}

Inclosed you will receive bill Loading for Eleven H^{ds} Tob.

in the C. Baltemore, is both good leaf, & weighty; w^{ch} quallety's hope may answer to produce a good price.

I've given Cap^t Clement Brooke an order on you for ten pounds of this date which I request may be paid.

I have in favour of M^r Michael Taylor Endorsed his Bills payable to me for seventy pounds Dated 17th 9^{br} last to M^r Tho Colmore, as allso the said Taylors bills for twelve pounds odd in Blank as he has & will continue to Ship you Tobacco I hope the said bills will be discharged. if you should be in advance for him, he has Sufficient here, wherewith to secure you. I hope our late Law confining us to a Certain number of plants will help to raise the value of our Commodity. it's the opinion of most of our best Planters it will lessen the quantety as heretofore made at least a full fourth espetially on the western shore. I have no acc^{tt} of twelve Hogsheads Tob shipt last year in Capt.

4

Onely from Putuxen marked & & N^o from 1 to twelve. he

xx

had orders for Seventeen but find he had no more then twelve. here are varrous Accusations against you here for haveing been the cause of the Low State of our Staple, whether you have disoblighd those gentlemen in any respect who Exclaim against you, you may best know, or whether they Expect to advance any Intrest to themselves thereby. But however Industerous they are, all do not believe what they give out among w^{ch} number is

Your very Humble
Serv^t

To Capt. Joⁿ Hyde & C^o Merc^{ts}
in London

C: Carroll

¶ the Baltemore Capt. Brook

Mr W^m Hunt
S^r

I request the favour you will write to some of your correspondents at the Citty of Bristol to desire that they may in

the best manner Enquire there what part of the Estate of Richard Benson or Ann his wife, both of that City Deceased of Right came, or is now due, or coming to Ann Benson (her Ex^r or heirs at Law) Daughter & Coheiress of the aforesaid Richard and Ann Benson. Frances Wall of the said City one of the Daughters of the said Richard and Ann was Administratrix of her mother, shee perhaps will inform your friend there of the affair if shee agrees to do, in a friendly manner it will save her, & her sisters representatives here, both charge & trouble in the affair, w^{ch} otherwise shee must Expect to follow. if shee agrees to pay so far as relates to her there shall be proper powers sent you to receive the same & discharge her.

there likewise came some intrest to her Sister the afores^d Ann by the death of a Grandmother as appears by a letter from the said Frances Wall dated from Bristol 29th January 1719/20 w^{ch} please to direct your friend allso to Enquire after. this being at the request of an other person I would have it transacted in the most frugal manner, & request y^r answer with an acc^{tt} of the charges that may acrew by the first oportunity. . . . To M^r W^m Hunt merc^{tt}

in London

Mess^{rs}

I have nothing from you as to the receipt of twelve H^{ds} Tob of Myne in Capt. Onely from Patuxent w^{ch} I shall be glad to know if you have rec^d he haveing left me no bill Loading for it. inclosed is bill Loading for seven H^{ds} Tob in the Tristan Cap^t Hoxton w^{ch} being good Collour & weight hope may answer. I have Drawn on you payable to Sam^{ll} Hyde for acc^{tt} of the owners of the Ship Dove for forty pounds S^t the 23rd of May last w^{ch} I pray may be answered. I am sensible I shall be in Ball^{ce} to you unless Tob. shipt answer better then I expect, but you may be assured that what favours you shall do me shall not be lost & that you shall have remittances to answer very soon.

June 19th 1729

To Capt. Joⁿ Hyde & C^o.

I would sell 7000 acres of Land on Susquehanna & Deer Creek all contiguous & good at twenty five pound p^{d} Hundred Acres and give seven years for the payment of the money at four p^{d} Cent Intrest dureing the afores^d term.

If they could not conveniently pay me for the Land at the Expiration of the afores^d seven years, I would give them Leases for twenty one years next ensuing, they paying me at the rate following p^{d} an & one years Rent fine.

viz. for the first seven years seventy pounds a year for the fourteen years next Ensueing one Hundred & forty pounds a year.

Then their Leases to be renewed for twenty one years more they paying a fine of forty shills. p^{d} Hundred Acres & six pence an Acre p^{d} annu. for the said twenty one years at w^{ch} Expiration to make such further conditions should be agreeable to Land Lord & tennant & they could hit Leases to be made with useial clauses of Entry in case of failure of rent & the whole Land in all parts to be Equally Liable to Entry & distraining in case of failure of Rent, or arearages. the rent to be paid on the Land at a Certain place & no waste to be committed.

Tennants obliged to plant orchards & keep their buildings in good repair.

The said proposalls shall be made Good by me any time within three years.

Cha: Carroll

To the Rev^d M^r Joⁿ Thomson.

M^r Henry Darnall

Inclosed you have bill Loading for H^{ds} Tob. on my Own pp^r Acc^{tt} as allso an Order for the nett proceeds of 4 H^{ds} Shipt by James Sweny in the Unity Capt. Russell in the Sales of w^{ch} shall hope your Endeavour will not be wanting for my Intrest those Ship't by my self are weighty, good Leaf & doubt not but the others are good he being an Expert planter I desire the favour that in Capt. Russell or some Ship comeing this

way you will send me the contents of the Inclosed Invoyses from the persons mentioned.

I have reason to think that our Crops this year will be much Shorter then the Law intended, for that the wettness of the summer has drowned all the Low grounds & some people have intirely lost both their Corn & Tobacco.

if you can meet with an orderly discreet young man well recomended, that understands the business of an Apothecary & Surgeon & writes a good hand inclinable to come abroad, I should take it kindly if you would Engage him for four years to serve me at that business & allow him ten pound this money a year he finding himself Cloaths & send him in Cap^t Russell's or such Ship as you shall send the above goods in.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Ream writeing paper | 2.. 0.. |
| 12 ^{lb} Raw Coffee | 3.. 12.. 4 |
| | 4.. |
| | 5.. |
| | 1.. 10.. |
| | 4.. 10.. |
| | — 18.. 12.. 4 |

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| 10 m. 20 ^d nails | } 10 m. 4 ^d nails 5 m. Inch & half floorering Brads. |
| 20 m. 8 d ^o | |
| 30 m. 10 d ^o | |
| 2 m. 30 d ^o | |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------|
| 1 Doz. best Weeding hoes | 22.. 4.. 0 |
| 1 Doz D ^o Hilling Hoes | 2.. 2.. 0 |
| 1 Doz. falling axes | 1.. 4.. |
| 6 Loping axes | 0.. 18.. |
| 3 broad axes | 0.. 10.. 6 |

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| 6 frying pans | 27.. 10.. 10 |
|---------------|--------------|

to be had of Eyre & Beecher Druggists at the Woll Park in Bucklers Berry viz.

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------------|------------|
| 1 ^{lb} Scamony | £1.. 0.. 0 | 1b ij Ther Venet | 0.. 18.. 0 |
| 16 ^{lb} Juice Licorice | 0.. 10.. 0 | 1b vi Diapordin | 0.. 12.. 0 |

| | | | |
|--------------------|------------|-----------------------------------|------------|
| lb B. Camphir | 0.. 4.. 0 | lb 12 Emp ^l Dminic | 0.. 7.. 0 |
| lb ij Oral cancor | 0.. 10.. 0 | lb 12 Emp ^l Meliloti | 0.. 8.. 0 |
| lb ss. opium | 0.. 9.. 0 | 12 grose vial Corks | 0.. 12.. 0 |
| lb ij Tereb. Venet | 0.. 6.. 0 | lb ij ol amig dul. | 0.. 4.. 0 |
| | — | Cong i Sy ^r of spincor | 0. 10.. 0 |
| | 3.. 9.. 0 | | — |
| | | | 3.. 11.. — |

To be had of Charles Ridgely Chymist at Glaubers head in Wattling Street.

vid

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------------------------|------------|
| lb ss. precip rub | 0.. 4.. 0 | Aq. Ther. Cong ij | 0.. 18.. 0 |
| lb ij Tart Emet | 0.. 10.. 8 | ib iv Sp ^r nit D. | 0.. 12.. 0 |
| lb 4 Sp ^r Sal armoni | 13.. 0 | lb i Croe metelu | |
| lb ij Sp ^r Sal. vol. Oleos | 6.. 0 | ib i Antim Diaphor | |
| lb ij turpeth minerale | 0.. 5.. 0 | | |
| lb j Sp ^{rs} Lavendul com. | 0.. 5.. 0 | | |
| | — | | |
| | 2.. 4.. 0 | | |

Glass Man

| | |
|---|------------|
| vid 1 Grose of ounce 2 ounce & half ounce vials | |
| 6 Doz. Thin bottles both | 0.. 9.. 0 |
| 1 Grose 4 & 6 ounce vials | 0.. 6.. 0 |
| 2 glass pestles | 0.. 15.. 0 |
| Pewter vid 1 Doz. probe Syringes | 0.. 6.. 0 |

Maryland August 19th 1729

D^r Sir

Mr Charles Carroll & I wrote you of the 17th Inst request-
ing you would Joyn with Mr Michael Carroll in distributeing
a Charity left by Mr James Carroll deceased here to the poor
of the parishes of Lorrol & English of twenty pounds Irish
money w^{ch} I hope you'l favour us in doing. I have myself

another favour to ask of you & which may be of mutual Service that is to make Enquirey there what Estate in fee Henry Hunt died posest of & whether he did not Entail the same on his son John Hunt the father of Wornel Hunt & how the said John Hunt Engaged the same or whether the same or any proffits may be recovered by the Heir at Law the son of Wornell Hunt. I believe Howlet Parker or Mr Richard Nicholson can give you some insight therein. Mr Ignatius Leary & Joⁿ Phelan know somewhat thereof.

I could purchase of the heir here did I know the value or whether a recovery were probable & if you'll make it your business to make such Enquirey & send me an exact State of the case & the true value thereof you shall not be a looser provided I make a purchase.

My Brother John Carroll who is now here Joyns me in Our Kind respects to you.

I shall take it Kindly to have a Line from you on the former Subject directed for Doct^r Charles Carroll at Annapolis in Maryland to the care of Henry Darnall merchant in London.

I have not to add, but to assure you that I am with true regard for you & yours.

Y^r affectionate Kinsman & most Humble Servant

Cha: Carroll

To Mr Alexander Carroll at Bilfada near Birr
in the County Tiperary Ireland.

S^r

You have Inclosed a Bill Ladeing for three Hd^s of Tob. in the Sales of w^{ch} request y^r care they are good & weighty therefore I hope will answer. If you Gent at home would; or could be convinced of the real Scarcity of Tob. for our last Crop, you'd raise the price of this & lessen your Shiping the ensuing year.

I really think 'twill be a third less then that w^{ch} has gon this year.

I request the favour you'l send me the pticulars following
by some Ship comeing to or above Annopolis.

To Mr Joⁿ Midford Merc^t In London.

☞ Capt. Majer

Two Good Bone Hoop petticotes of Striped Holland 3½
yards wide & an Ell Long bound with Leather not to Exceed
twenty shil^s a peece.

a peece of Cambric of about 5 shil^s a yard to contain not
Exceeding ten yards.

40 Ells of Good Shirting Linnen of about 2/6 ☞ Ell yard
wide, rather Good Garlix Holland, the above Letter was not
sent Mr Midford Dead.

7^{br} 26th 1729

S^r

I ship't you Six H^{ds} of Tob. by Cap^t Thornton from Putux-
ent w^{ch} were very good & weighty & hope will sell well.

Our Crops this year by the Law & weather is reduced to at
least a third less then usual & doubt not but you'l find it so.

Inclosed is Bill of Exch^a to Bristol for £25 for w^{ch} if paid
C^r my Acc^{tt}.

please to send the inclosed letters being advice refering to
the said Bill.

To John Tyler on Mess^{rs} Joⁿ Phipsly Proct^r

& Tho. Ross merc^t in Bristol £25

To Mr Rich^d Burbydge merc^t in London

☞ Capt. Dunscomb.

8^{br} 24th 1729

S^r

Inclosed is bill Loading for four H^{ds} Tob. in the Rebecca
Joⁿ Majer Commander with w^{ch} I desire you'l Credit my Acc^{ts}
as sold.

You will certainly find Crops short this year at least a third
& some say one half w^{ch} I hope may contribute to the Raise of

that on hand I expected the favour of a line in relation to Tho. Taylors land on Patapsco w^{ch} is not come to hand.

Capt. Hart is off of Severn & will soon sail.

To Phil. Smith, thr Majer.

8br 27th 1729

Mr Phil Smith

Mr Chapman & I have had some Discourse about your proposal to your friends of sending them goods at twelve months Credit & five th Cent Intrest on what should Remain unpaid after that time.

I am conveniently seated for Business and have a desire to fall into a little trade and being satisfied that I could make an advantage of terms of the above kind as allso serve you here (w^{ch} I have a very good Inclination to do) make my Aplycation to you on the ocation not in the least doubting your Sincerety & Generosity from what I have had to do with you.

The terms I would desire is Eighteen months Credit from Shipping the Goods and five th cent Intrest th annum on what should Remain unpaid after that time, unless you should think that any service I might render you otherwise wo'd be an Equivalent for such Intrest.

If on those terms you think proper, I desire you will send me the Contents of the Inclosed invoices th the Hart or some other ship Comeing this way & Insure on them my dependance will not be wholely on the sale of the Goods here, to make you Remittances haveing Tobacco & money due to me in the Counterey exclusive of what I yearly make so that you need be under no aprehension of Looseing by any negotiation with me.

If Tea be at Reasonable price I desire you will allso send me forty weight of Bohea & twenty of Green. As allso half a Bale of Coffee if Cheap. as for the German Linens & India Goods hope they'l come Cheap, the Duty's drawn back being considerable w^{ch} with the other goods hope I shall have, so as to Enable me to sell as low here as others, & have an Equal proffit with them.

Let me have your advice concerning Tobacco from time to time & what I may venture to give for it.

I desire you will also let me know the value of furs with you, as Dear Skins & Beaver for I can purchase of them considerably.

To s^d Smith & the Hart.

Maryland January 5th 1729

S^r

Inclosed you have bill Loading for three Hogsheads of Tobacco, an order from Ulrick Burk for the nett proceeds of three Hogsheads shipt you in the Severn this year as also the under-noted bill of Exch^a with w^{ch} & the proceeds of the above Tob. I desire you will Cr my acc^{tt}. We are here in hopes that the price of our Staple will raise with you, the Scarcety being such this last Crop that it will be at least one half shorter then usual.

To Mr W^m Hunt, merc^{tt} in Londⁿ

& Cap^t Joⁿ Carpenter.

To Susana Shipley on your self for £3..5..10.

June 6th 1730.

Mr W^m Hunt

S^r

I have Shiped twelve Hogsheads of Tobacco in Pike at Putuxent and desire the favour you will Insure four pounds & Hogshead on Eight of them on my account.

I shall make you Remittances also by your Ship from South River upon w^{ch} & what by Carpenter. I have ventured to draw on you at Sixty Days sight payable to Richard Bennett Esq^r for fifty Eight pounds Sterll w^{ch} bills will not be sent home before the Charles sailes & by w^{ch} time I hope Pike will if not sooner. So that I may reasonably expect (if Tob. sells Tolerably) you will not be much in advance for me, but what you are (if any) shall be refunded with due Acknowledgement. To W^m Hunt Merch^t in London.

Sr

Above is Copy of what I wrote you the 6th Inst. and as I am advised that the Insurence offices seldom make insurance under fifty pounds I desire you will, if so, make insurance of ffifty pounds on Twelve H^{ds} of Maryland leaf Tobacco in Pike from Putuxent on my account.

I doubt not but by other hands you will be advised of our Short Crops & late Tob. Law Reduceing us to six Thousand plants ☞ Taxable.

June 17th 1730

To Mr W^m Hunt merc^t in London ☞ Capt^t Smith.

Annapolis, 17th June, 1730.

Sr

This comes by Capt. Smith who Intends to aply or indeed relies on you for Credit to Carry home the Maryland Merchant. he has with him a Subscription for Tobaccos to be consigned to whatever Merchant shall advance such Credit. had his resolution been known sooner I doubt not but it would have been much more & still I doubt not but we shall compleat six Hundred Hogsheads.

I am intirely satisfied if you strick in with him & send no other Ship into Putuxent next year you will have the chief if not all the Loading to you and if it should not be thought for the Intrest of the Maryland Merchant to send for Tob. out of the River the subscriptions made by those at a distance will help your other Ships, and you may depend that for my part I shall not be wanting to put the Gentlemen in Mind & Suffi- ciently urge it for your Intrest. I realy think you will find this affair for y^r Service & Intrest.

Wherein I can serve you with relation to this affair, I shall sincerely do it provided Capt. Smith and you agree therein. To Mr W^m Black by Capt. Smith.

Mr Will^m Hunt

I rec^d yours dated Boston Jan^y 16th 1729 wherein you tell me of your design to South Carolina. I should gladly correspond with you and am very willing to serve you in your affair in Ireland w^{ch} I am of Opinion may be rendered Serviceable to you provided you take proper steps therein.

I have had a Letter from one to whom I wrote concerning it, and for answer; Encourages me to advise your looking into it as a matter of consequence.

first it is necessary you prove your fathers marriage with your mother, & your Own birth (& such proof) as allso of your being heir at Law, attested by a notary Publick, w^{ch} no doubt you can do at Nevis & perhaps procure some attestations there of such who knew your father, that he was the Son of Capt. John Hunt of Carney in the County Tiperary.

but if you can not prove the later there, by any of his Acquaintance it can be done here by those who knew your father and Grandfather very well. as I have been at some Expence and trouble in this affair already, I would not willingly have it dropt.

As I before offered you a Thousand pound I will still give it when a Recovery is had & for w^{ch} you shall have good security deducting the Charges w^{ch} in the mean time I will expend, provided you procure the proofs as afores^d w^{ch} are the Grounds to work on & make me proper Deeds—consider that nothing is had without trouble & that in this affair its worth your while to take some.

I assure you I will do anything in my power to serve you in this affair, & shall gladly have your answer.

Your inclosed Letter was safely delivered: all your friends here are well, but a great change in Mrs. Carroll's famely by the death of Miss Nelly Carroll.

If you should apprehend any of your Creditors here & think of comeing about this affair, I can get you a Letter of Licence by a Composition with them.

June 23^d 1730.

To Mr W^m Hunt at Charles Town
in South Carolina, This

S^r

I wrote you before concerning one Richard and Ann Benson of the Citty of Bristole to w^{ch} I refer you and the following Querries to be made by your friend there.

You have inclosed a power of Attorney from George Thorpe the Husband of M^{rs} Ann Benson Daughter of the said Richard and Ann both of the aforesd. City deceased who has the sole right to what personal Estate the said Ann his wife was in any way's intituled to.

I perceive by your friends Letter from Bristol inclosed to me that, that they are willing to pay what Bal^{ce} is due without much trouble therefore I hope the power now sent with the attestations anexed will intitle you to the receipt thereof. as the thing appears to me there can't be less then two Hundred pounds due to M^r Thorp for that out of the severall Estates his wife rec^d no more then about forty pounds Expended on her Two sons and a bill of Ten pounds shee herself drew. but that will appear by the Accounts made up in the prerogative Court.

Capt. Daniel Russell will wait on you to prove the said power of Attorney as will also a young man that goes home from hence for Bristol John Tyler.

You have inclosed the said Thorpes order on you for fifty pounds to be paid out of that money of w^{ch} I pray your care & that you will let me know by the first oportunity what prospect there is of geting it.

You have also John Tyler's Exchange on John Phippsly Proctor at Bristol for 200^l w^{ch} I desire you will remit to your friend there and order him that if a longer time is requisite then the Sixty days sight to give it for the payment of them or if the young mans affairs may be bettered thereby to give twelve months on Common Intrest, & good security.

Quere whether the said Ann Benson had her part of her father Richard Benson's Estate as by his will recorded in the prerogative Court of Canterbury.

Quere if shee has rec^d (& what part) of her mother Ann Benson's personall Estate or her part of the rents of the real

Estate left by the said Ann her mother valued 15 years purchase at her death 1549^l St. & then brought in sixty pounds a year in 1718 to be devided between four sisters.

Quere if shee has Rec^d any part of her Grandmothers Estate or of the Rents w^{ch} M^{rs} Wall acknowledges to be due & comeing to her as by her letter to the said Ann dated at Bristoll 29th day of January 1719/20.

To M^r W^m Hunt merchant in London by
Capt. Russell in the Clapham.

July 16th 1730

(*To be continued*)

JAMES ALFRED PEARCE

BERNARD C. STEINER

(*Continued from Vol. XVIII, p. 273.*)

The Whigs of the Maryland Assembly, voting for the re-election of Pearce to the United States Senate, passed the following resolution:

“February 1848.

“*Resolved* by the Whigs of the Senate and House of Delegates of Maryland:—

That in view of the Congressional life of the Hon. James Alfred Pearce and especially of the sentiments expressed by him in his late speech on the Ten Regiment Bill, we feel gratified to have the opportunity now offered of expressing our confidence in the soundness of his political principles by unanimously reëlecting him to a seat in the Senate of the United States.”

On February 21, 1848, Pearce acknowledged the resolution as follows:

“On Monday last I received your letter of the 7th. instant enclosing a copy of a ‘resolution passed by the Whigs in caucus on the night of the 1st. inst.’—I am exceedingly gratified by the testimony of the approval of my public conduct by the Whig

members of the Legislature and beg you to present to them for me my grateful acknowledgements. Immediately representing as they do the majority of the people of Maryland their expression of their opinion is the authentic evidence of public sentiment and therefore doubly valuable. Under a government such as our own such a testimony is the highest reward of the public service and as such I acknowledge it with the most profound sensibility.

Accept Sir for yourself my thanks for the kind terms in which you have conveyed to me the resolution of the Whig Caucus."

Shortly after delivering the speech, Pearce was absent from Washington for a few days, during which time his friend, Thomas Corwin, wrote him from the Senate Chamber on February 4.¹⁷⁵

"Dickens is reading the Journals prayers having been dispensed with as we sometimes do the reading of Polk's Nominations. Bell closed his two day speech at 10 minutes of 4 yesterday. The last day was a great improvement on the first. His exordium and preliminaries were perfectly Delphic. At last he came out about ten minutes before his close as this 'Fly Mexico as you would a pestilence. If you must have California and N. Mexico, take them and leave the City of the Aztecs. If you can't get territory, still fly,—come back behind the Nueces. I want no territory, my people want none etc. etc.' and more of the same sort. You will hardly believe he had been talking the day before of a 'right to indemnity for expense' etc. etc. Sevier has the floor to-day. We shall get the *Cabinet* plan from him, so we expect,—Underwood is ready with his Arithmetic, Miller with his 'Queries and points,' Dayton with his 'positions' and Berrien with his 'propositions.' We have just voted to rest on Saturday, I think the firing will be kept up all of next week. If you can be here by Friday morning you are safe. Should anything unforeseen

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Corwin, born in Kentucky in 1794, and died in 1865. He was a member of the U. S. Senate from Ohio from 1845 to 1850.

occur, to hasten you, we will advise you if possible. The loan (?) Bill comes up to day in the House, Vinton, Chancellor of the Exchequer opens 'the Budget.' Nothing new as to peace or propositions, formal or informal. It is said and I believe it, that father Niles our Palinurus and P Roads, has doubts touching 'large standing armies' etc. and is here afraid of some *Danger* from the 'ten Regiments,' and that he will speak to the Senate and the world 'there anent.' Now if we get him, Calhoun, Yulee, Butler, Hunter and (as we have hopes) Atherton, and our men are all in the field. Cass is 'defunct on the past question.' We caroused with Dan. Cowells and his fat wife, on Wednesday evening, 200 Bipeds, be the same more or less, were present, male and female, as God and Tailors and Dressmakers created them, there they were—and yesterday we dined and took a Pot of Potheen with the Irishman, Sullivan, Berrien, Root and your unworthy friend all went. Judge M'Lean, Wetmore, Rockwell (cold water) etc. being of the set. I have to go to Balt to-morrow with Deacon Smith, for reasons you wot of, thenceforth I am a sworn Anchorite and see only the seven deadly sins in a flaggon. This morning Mrs. Holly called me to the door, to ask for you,—when you would return.—I gave her the honor of a conscript father, that you would never close your eyes again in quiet slumber, till her Bill was a law.

The mess sends greetings, and prayers for the speedy restoration of Mrs. P. and the quick return of her Lord to his sworn duty to the Republic—Sevier is up, so I must write myself yrs 'till death.'"

During the Presidential Campaign of 1848, Corwin wrote several times to Pearce. On July 14, he sent the following letter from Washington, showing how contemporaneous European events reacted upon him:

"Yesterday morning Clayton's Com. of 8 were chosen by ballot. You will see *who* in the papers.—They are sure to report the Missouri compromise. It will pass the Senate, and it will give the free soil candidate to be named at Buffalo on

the 9th. prox. the votes of Mass. Conn. N York and Ohio, all this is very grateful, refreshing to a poor devil I could name. Is it not agreeable and pleasant to a hard-working farmer, to plough, harrow and manure and sow for twenty years and after making one crop and having a rich prospect of a second, to see his fields blighted and his lands smitten with barrenness? But it is better than Paris—How like the scenes of '93, are the recent Saturnalia in France. Nick Frog is a fool. He gets drunk with blood, vomits crime, and thinks it is liberty that ails him!

We shall be in secret session to day on the Army brevets etc. We shall hear something from a certain quarter touching California and Kearney, but that is sub rosa of course.

The mess is well and huffish. Wet weather and Wilmot makes us all unamiable."

Toward the end of the year, on November 13, Corwin, being at his home in Lebanon, Ohio, wrote Pearce again:

"You my dear friend know, that my long delayed answer to your friendly note was occasioned not by a want or wish on my part to break the chain of a highly cherished intercourse—valuable to me, because from some vice in my nature, I cannot be bound to but very few. I rec'd it when on my rapid march over the State, riding from thirty to fifty miles a day speaking from two to four hours by sunlight, and about the same time by moon or torch light, every twenty four hours. And to what end! Ohio has voted for Cass! Thank God, stupidity and fanaticism and selfish egotism here, have been less potential elsewhere, and honest old Zack has prevailed, what an ass is man! What a farce are all his works and ways. Ohio has been calling to *Pa* for sixteen years to make up—and now, when democracy there, rubs its eyes stares around and sees its folly, What do we in Ohio! We cannonize Martin Van Buren in the Whig callendar, whine hypocritically about a sugar plantation and give power to Cass with his veto upon and Butler with his veto against the Proviso! Is not this Insanity! It must have been some such absurdity in human affairs, that provoked good man,

in the elder time, to prefer the instinct of brutes to the reason of man. 'The ox knoweth his owner and the ass his Master's Crib, but Israel doth not know, My people do not consider.' So it was truly said 3000 years ago and so may it be said with equal truth of Man, *now*—To Gidding's mainly with the silence and understood acquiescence of Root and others, is this shameful, abominable result, due. I think I always told you we should probably fail in Ohio, yet with all my fears, I confess I did hope, that reason had some place in the heads of our people, I was even wrong in this humble expectation. Again our Captains Scott, McLean and Clay, all return from the field without a wave of the hand or hat, or a single 'God bless you,' when they were postponed, leaving us of the rank and file to fight the battle as best we could—These are all good (and as times go) great Men. I do not wish to judge them, they have doubtless good reason for their conduct, but I do not see why they could not cheer us on, when our and their enemy pushed us so hard,—However regrets and recriminations are always useless—We have won the battle though the Brigade from Ohio has been captured. I am reasonably content and hope something from the presence of an honest Man in the Palace—I have a curiosity to be present at the dispersion of the 'Buzzard Roost' or I should not cross the Mountains this Fall,—By the way I saw in a newspaper that our Landlord Stetinius, had been arrested for some fraudulent practice, in obtaining Lands Warrants. Is this so! If it be true can we live in his house! Let me know what you intend in this regard."

Pearce's views as to the relation of Congress and the President were expressed again on May 1, 1850, while he was defending President Taylor against an attack by Foote of Mississippi for failing to send an expedition to hunt for Sir John Franklin. Taylor had suggested to Congress that the United States aid in this search and nothing had been done. Pearce did "not acknowledge that it constitutes a part of the executive duty to dictate any measure to Congress, but I do recognize his right and duty to present to Congress his views on great

national subjects, and I also recognize the duty of Congress, when it concurs with him in opinion, to carry out those views, so far as it has constitutional powers."

Taylor's unexpected death in 1850, caused Pearce to utter this eulogy upon him in the course of the commemorative exercises held in the Senate: "A life of public service, hardship, danger, and glory has been suddenly closed. That Providence which protected the late President amidst the perils of his long, faithful, and splendid military career and which permitted him to reap the harvest of admiration and affection which had grown up for him in the hearts of his countrymen, has removed him from us before the measure of his usefulness was full. To the performance of the highest civil trusts, he had brought the pledges of an unstained life of a pure and fervent patriotism, of a stern integrity, of a kind and benignant temper, of unyielding firmness and unmixed devotion to the welfare of that country which he served so well and which, so freely and worthily bestowed its confidence upon him.

"Few men have had better fortune than he—none better deserved it. The virtues of his simple and modest, but heroic character had so endeared him to his fellow-citizens."

At the time of Taylor's death, Congress was in the midst of a great struggle over the Compromise of 1850. Clay had introduced a comprehensive bill, hoping to settle all the burning questions, in regard to the newly annexed territory and to slavery. The discussion over the bill was long and acrimonious, Man's temper had been so exacerbated that Foote and Benton had engaged on April 17, in an altercation which had nearly led to a shooting affray between them on the floor of the Senate.¹⁷⁶

As early as March 28, Corwin wrote to Pearce, during the latter's absence from the Capital:¹⁷⁷

"I rec'd your letter this morning (Friday). We are wading

¹⁷⁶ Pearce, on July 30, reported for the Committee upon this incident, censuring both the participants.

¹⁷⁷ Pearce seems to have been in Chestertown.

through the same sluggish sea of talk. The eternal theme is still the ever recurring topic Negroes Negroes Negroes—If the fellow who has been so long picking up chips in the Moon were to drop his basket and light down on the American Congress, he would write down in his diary 'Found a Republic of Anglo-Saxons on the Banks of the Potomac, seventeen millions of white people and three millions of black slaves—with a constitution providing a Govt. whose only business is, to see to the sale, transfer and manumission of said black slaves—Did not learn that any provisions were made for the Govt. of the Whites.'

"Truman Smith held forth yesterday on patronage. He stake-pulled Bradbury and Democracy like a Burly bear and with a zeal that seemed to say 'I stake my wheel (?) debenter.' He raved for three hours and we then adjourned him over to Saturday, when he is to fire off a whole magazine of statistics, showing that there are more democratic pigs tugging at the dugs of the great fat sow, than Whigs. Dayton has the floor on 'fugitives' to-day—We shall have I expect a prime exegesis of the subject, with somewhat of the sequipedalian pomp called (I believe) by the newspapers—Eloquence.

"As to the debut of a certain Senator it does not become me to speak. If I had not the misfortune to live in a free State where education and taste you know cannot be expected to exist I might return the opinion of an 'Unmannerly, untaught Knave': When you consider the subject on which he spake you will blush to think, you should have been so vulgar as to ask an opinion on the commentary from one of 'the North.' Have you not seen the Motive and the Speech! It was upon of and concerning the 'rights of the South,' and the great duty of silence which is secured to the freemen of the Model Republic, in the clause of our 'glorious constitution' granting the right of petition and a hint at the 'liberty of speech.' We were legislating for a territory and some insurrectionary scamps ventured to express an opinion touching the legislation. Well, it was an outrage, was it not! But it is a long long time since

'89 and have we not Progress' Hail to the 19th. Century, Gloria in Excelsis we have, we have *indeed* progress.

"The stereotyped rumor of Cabinet disruption comes to us each Morning about 10 A. M. and dies of inanition about 8 P. M. of the same day. A few ginger pop corks have been stored in the House & Ewing has been regularly bespattered with the contents of the 'pint bottles.' If it were not 'hag ridden' by the Mexican Commission, I should have Melancholia and sentimentalism and wander away to 'groves and grottos' in your absence. I would (if I were not chained like a Cub Bear to thy Mexican Stake) dabble in some tributary brook of Hippocrene, with the barefooted Muses, who go a swimming in the deep Vales thereabouts, until this eternal 'babble' of Speech Makers should be 'in the Lord's own good time' dispersed.

"I have ordered your mails aright and will see that Harvey or Billy meet you at the depot on Wednesday."

Pearce first took part in the debate on June 19, when he delivered a learned speech on the Compromise bill. He was especially interested in the boundaries of Texas, reiterating his statement that she had no good title to the country on the Rio Grande, or to New Mexico. Pearce would concede the territory between the Rio Grande and the Nueces River, to Texas, "as a sacrifice, for the preservation of peace and harmony"; but he insisted that a "final adjustment be made and that, if Texas declines the proposition now made, the matter must go to the arbitrament of the Supreme Court, since the judicial power of the United States extends to controversies between the Nation and a State," and the interest of that Court is to "maintain the claims of rights and justice, and to preserve harmony, and perpetuate the integrity of the Union."

On July 20 Pearce rose to defend President Taylor's memory against a charge made by Houston, that he had been unfair to Texas troops. "I am afraid," said Pearce, "that the Senator is like the lion, who is sometimes violently chafed by the lashing of his own tail, and that he has worked himself up to the

'extraordinary delusion' that 250 Texans could have won the Rio Grande, 'by the license which he has given to an eager fancy.'" Pearce showed a minute knowledge of the battle of Monterey and condemned Texans for being guilty of atrocities in Mexico. He repeated that Texas had no right to New Mexico, nor the Rio Grande country, and that the United States had not recognized the right of Texas thereto. Clay had offered a boundary, giving Texas a vast public domain, and she should be content with it, retaining the Rio Grande country and giving up pretensions to New Mexico.

Clay was willing to limit New Mexico to the territory west of the Rio Grande, but Pearce refused to be overawed by him and, on July 31, he spoke in opposition to this "most extraordinary and incongruous proposition," which "makes the bill cranky, lopeared, crippled, deformed, and curtailed of its fair portions." Benton supported Pearce and Clay lost.

On the next day, Clay expressed the fear that the whole measure would fail, on account of Pearce's amendment. Pearce replied that he did not "shrink from any just responsibility," and wished to have the bill passed, without the proposed limit of New Mexico. On his "own responsibility" he had acted and it was not "just to saddle him with responsibility" on the ground that the majority of the voters for his amendment were opponents of the bill. Considerable feeling arose between the two men and Pearce wrote a friend on August 5:

"The compromise bill was lost by Mr. Clay's one blunder tho' like Napoleon who never lost a battle but charged every defeat on some subordinate, he has endeavored to make me the scape goat falsely and unjustly for which I shall never forgive him.

"I think his plan of uniting so many measures in one bill injudicious since it combines the opposition to all the separate measures. Yet I voted for it in every stage and for almost every amendment save Mr. Dawson's that proposed to have no govt. at all on the Eastern side of the Rio Grande till *Texas should consent*. No, they would not consent. Mr. Clay had

himself denounced Gov. Taylor because his plan did not at once provide a regular Govt. for the territory of New Mexico and then quarrels with me because I held on to his own argument.

"I send you a copy of the *Intelligencer* containing a short sketch of the debate and I will send you a copy of the Union containing the little sparring between Mr. Clay and myself.

"The petitions will do no good. If we can settle the Texas boundary all will be safe."

On August 8, Pearce again addressed the Senate on the Texan boundary. It was proposed to pay Texas five million dollars for her territorial claims, when the creditors of Texas should file at the United States Treasury, releases of all claims against the United States. Pearce proposed to give Texas, in the neighborhood of El Paso, more than the original Compromise Bill did, but he made New Mexico stronger, by giving her valleys suitable for cultivation. He "dreaded a fight with Texas, but feared not its issue. Compromise was necessary to avoid constant abrasion, which may wear away the rope which holds the Union together. I cannot calculate the value of the Union, of harmony and fraternal attachments, and of that identity of interest which may be broken up, if we do not reconcile this matter."¹⁷⁸ Pearce's proposals as to the boundaries was carried. His Maryland friends warmly supported him. S. Teackle Wallis wrote him from Baltimore on August 10:

"I really congratulate you on the success of your bill, and especially as its passage turned the tables so completely on Mr. Clay, whose malicious and unjustifiable attack now only serves to make your success the more conspicuous. I shall be delighted if the Senate settle the questions pending, while he is away. It will fairly satisfy him, I think, that compromise does not consist in bullying, and that there are people who will occa-

¹⁷⁸ On August 9, he spoke again on the subject. See Wm. C. Binkley, "Questions of Texan Jurisdiction in New Mexico under the United States, 1848-50." 24 *S. W. Historical Quarterly*, July, 1920, p. 1.

sionally think and act for themselves. Will your bill pass the House?"

Alexander Randall followed from Annapolis on August 13:

"I sincerely congratulate you on the course you have pursued and at its honorable and meritorious consummation. I never doubted of the propriety of it so soon as I read your views, indeed so soon as I heard of your course.

"You have acted worthy of yourself and the result will satisfy the Country of what I wanted, not the consummation for my satisfaction—Your manly independence and judicious conduct under most trying circumstances.

"When Messrs. Clay and others were here on a visit to Gov. Pratt I asked them if the result of the Union of these various heterogeneous subjects in one Bill would not unite oppositions and these too entertaining conflicting antagonistic opinions for such to my mind seemed would be the result. They thought not that this was the only plan to be successful—the result showed thus far which opinion was correct.

"I do sincerely wish and believe that each one of these measures will pass the Senate by its independent separate action.

"At your leisure send me any maps or documents by which I can judge of the location of the lines of Texas as fixed by your Bill and proposed by the others."

Daniel Jenifer, too, an old associate, sent a letter, from Port Tobacco on August 14, containing his views upon the subject.¹⁷⁹

"I assure you I am not amongst those who denounce a political friend who has rendered such service to his party and Country because he happens to differ in questions of expediency with others. Never have I for a moment believed that your votes or amendments to the Compromise Bill were dictated by other than the purest motives. In fact I can't see the charity or magnanimity of those who seem to be exclusively right in

¹⁷⁹ David Jenifer (1791-1855) was a member of the House of Representatives, 1831-33, and 1835-41, and was minister to Austria, 1841-45. He then was Register of Wills of Charles County, 1846-51.

charging upon others motives less pure than their own. I have been an attentive observer of the acts and proceedings in regard to this Compromise measure and whilst its general features I highly approve I am free to confess there are some extremely objectionable [ones] and certainly sufficiently so to elicit from confreres an expression of their opinions and advice. Believing that Mr. Clay merits much the thanks of the Country for his indefatigable efforts to adjust this vexed question, and those who meet(?) with him on that committee are entitled to their share of praise, still others are equally patriotic though they differ as to the mode of accomplishing the great object. Since the receipt of yours of the 10th. instant. I find the Bill you introduced to settle the boundaries of Texas has passed the Senate. This I should suppose, with the explanation you have made would be sufficient to satisfy all, who desire to be satisfied, of the purity of your motives, even when the policy of your course may not have been approved. I trust now that other events will follow your successful move which may prove equally satisfactory to the Country. I assure you however, that I would not, had I to write over my Letter of congratulation upon your nomination to a seat in the Cabinet, abstract one sentence from it, and your declining to take a seat in the Cabinet so honorably tendered by President Fillmore, is strong evidence of the injustice which has been done you.

"I am just now actually engaged in the Canvass for the Constitutional Reform Convention, having been induced to become a candidate but have to encounter one of the most formidable combinations heretofore attempted in this Country, the component parts of which you would be surprised at. But as I have never yet been defeated in any political move I have made I do not fear the results.

"Our election you know takes place the first Monday in September immediately after which I hope to see you in Washington. In the mean time keep *cool* as I always do, and do not let the abilities of demagogues throw you from your propriety. With best regards to such friends who are so kind as to enquire for me."

The only other part of the Compromise debate in which Pearce took part was that in regard to the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia.¹⁸⁰

But the slavery question,¹⁸¹ like Banquo's ghost, would not down, and on February 17, 1851, we find J. P. Hale using "very free language" on the floor of the Senate, speaking of a "kidnapping" in Philadelphia under the Fugitive Slave Law. Pearce was aroused and said the case cited was one of a mistaken identity, which was promptly corrected by the Maryland authorities, thus proving that the law would not be converted into an instrument of fraud. In the debate that followed, Hale said that he delighted in agitation. Whereupon Pearce replied that the Devil was the first agitator and that "some of his followers are prominent agitators at the present day" in the "strict line of diabolical succession." To this Hale retorted that the Devil went to Paradise to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law.

Four years later, the Kansas Nebraska Bill destroyed much of the work of the Compromise of 1850 and brought the irrepressible conflict forward as the main issue in National Politics. While the bill was under discussion, Pearce spoke upon it, on May 24, 1854. The Bill proposed to allow those persons to vote who had declared their intention to become citizens. Pearce moved to amend by limiting the franchise to citizens, because its exercise is "part of political sovereignty. It seems to me the essential duty of a citizen, but of no one else to exercise that power. It is at war with all principles of all government, it seems to me, to confer upon those who are not citizens the power to control the government, through the right of suffrage. That right belongs only to those who are members of the body politic, and no foreigner can be so, until he has by naturalization entered into the compact which constitutes him one of the

¹⁸⁰ On September 3, 4, and 11, he spoke.

¹⁸¹ Clay opposed the framing of a slave code for the District. On June 21 Pearce presented resolves of a Baltimore meeting favoring a compromise as to slavery. On December 18, 1850, he presented a loyal resolution of the Maryland Reform Convention, E. F. Chambers, Chairman, approving the compromise.

political community." There was no higher exercise of the right of citizenship than voting, except that performed by the legislature. The legislation in the past had been irregular as to this matter, but the Northwest Ordinance was a poor precedent against Pearce's position; since it was passed before the establishment of the Constitution, at a time when "there was no such thing as a citizen of the United States," nor had the confederation any power to constitute such citizens. Pearce referred to the various bills which had been passed as to territories and thought the matter might have escaped notice, when citizenship had not been required. The bill, as drawn, practically declared that naturalization laws should have no force in this territory.

Pearce was inclined to approve the transfer to the people of the Territories the right to decide concerning the existence of slavery therein—"a question which Congress has not settled and cannot settle to its own satisfaction." This transfer of the "embarrassments" was as "wise as anything else which can be adopted, but Pearce was strongly opposed the bestowal of such right upon any persons who were not citizens of the United States, "who understand our government, who, whether native or naturalized, have been living long enough in the United States to have gained some familiarity with our institutions, who have acquired an interest in the welfare of the country and have identified themselves with it."

The question of "bleeding Kansas" became acute in the Presidential year of 1856. Pearce took but little part in the debate. On July 8, however, he said that he favored the Senate bill for conferring Statehood on the Territory (though he had been absent during the discussion and vote upon it), as it provided for a constitution to be framed by the body of *bona fide* settlers. He opposed admission of Kansas with the Topeka or Free State Constitution. He had acquiesced in the original Kansas Nebraska Bill with reluctance, but took his full responsibility for it.¹⁸²

¹⁸² On June 23, 1856, J. M. Root of Sandusky wrote Pearce that he con-

When the campaign was over, Robert C. Winthrop¹⁸³ wrote Pearce, answering a letter on political affairs: "though I could not go along with you to the same precise conclusion, I could readily appreciate the considerations by which you were controlled. Now that the hurly burly's over, I trust that old friends may find some common policy to adopt and common policy to pursue."¹⁸⁴

The bitter feelings aroused by the slavery contest led Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, to make a fierce attack upon Senator Butler of South Carolina in the Spring of 1856 and Preston Brooks, a nephew of Butler and a Representative from the same State, hot to avenge his uncle, came upon Sumner from behind, while the latter was writing at his desk in the Senate, and inflicted disabling blows upon him, when he was defenceless. The Senate appointed a committee to investigate the affair for which committee Pearce received the highest number of votes, being associated with Lewis Cass, Philip Allen, Henry Dodge, and Henry S. Geyer.

The Committee¹⁸⁵ reported in five days that there was no precedent in the history of the Senate, but that they had found precedents of the House of Representatives, that they regarded the attack a violation of the Senate's privileges, of which com-

sidered the Kansas Nebraska bill as "selfish, sectional, and wicked." In Ohio, "almost all the Whigs, all the Free soilers, and some of the Democrats will organize an Anti-Nebraska, Anti-Cuba, and Anti-Administration Party . . . but somehow (Salmon P. Chase is at a heavy discount with the most of these elements . . . Self-seeking is the offense with which he is charged)." On June 11, 1854, Root had written Pearce a long letter concerning his family and the local public schools.

¹⁸³ On December 8, 1856.

¹⁸⁴ On May 16, 1855, Winthrop wrote, thanking Pearce for documents, asking for a copy of that "extraordinary Ostend document," and telling of Governor Gardner's refusal to remove Judge Loring, a refusal which should be commended, but with the qualification that, by voting six weeks before to remove Loring from the Law Professorship at Cambridge, Gardner had given "encouragement and sanction to the conduct of the legislature." On May 13, 1858, Professor Benjamin Pierce gave Loring a letter of introduction to Pearce.

¹⁸⁵ See May 26 and 28.

plaint should be made to the House of Representatives. The report was promptly accepted.¹⁸⁶

The State Legislature of Massachusetts passed resolutions condemning the attack upon Sumner. Hunter of Virginia brought these up in the Senate, in a fiercely partisan speech. Pearce¹⁸⁷ followed him, expressing regret at Hunter's action, since "the Senate ought to discuss grave subjects, calmly and temperately," "banishing the voice of passion and faction." He had rejoiced when the Senate had accepted the report of his Committee without a debate, which would have inflamed "the public sentiment already far too much excited," and would have increased "these discords which threaten almost to divide us." Pearce had no "political affiliation," or "personal sympathies" with Sumner. So far as Pearce had any, they were with Brooks. Pearce's relations with Sumner were very "scant, but they were civil and courteous." Sumner's speech contained "irritating and offensive epithets," showed "extreme acrimony," and was "offensive in the highest degree, to every one who had voted for the Kansas Act and to every one whose fortune it was to live within the limits of a slaveholding State." After Sumner's attack upon Butler, it was not wonderful that Brooks should have given way to the impulses of so natural an indignation, yet, when all had been said for him, the fact remained that he had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the Senate.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ On June 2, 1856, Jesse Bright, the President *pro tempore* of the Senate, laid before it a letter he had received from Preston S. Brooks, apologizing for the breach of privilege. Pearce favored printing the letter in the *Globe* and laying it on the table without further action.

¹⁸⁷ On June 24, 1856.

¹⁸⁸ Seward said he held the *New York Tribune* was "one of the greatest oracles of truth that ever appeared from a printing press." Pearce replied "There is no monstrous error which has not had its disciples and followers" and that, in 1851, the *Tribune* had said of Pearce that it was in "vain ever to be expected to see the graduation of a decent and respectable gentleman from the South." Hunter's position was that the Committees report was wrong and that Sumner's only remedy was in a Court of law.

The Kansas question continued a burning one, but Pearce took little part in the controversy.¹⁸⁰

(To be continued.)

THE COHENS OF MARYLAND¹

AARON BAROWAY

The Cohen family of Baltimore has long been prominent in the annals of Maryland. Its records, which are in an admirable condition, comprise much more than lists of dates of births, deaths, and marriages. They contain, on the one hand, much which is of interest for the past of American Jewry and, on the other hand, data of value to students of Maryland history. They offer Jacob I. Cohen's noble Memorial² to the session of 1823-24 of the General Assembly of Maryland and Col. Mendes I. Cohen's account of the bombardment of Fort McHenry.³ The family records narrate more than the arrival in Baltimore during the first decade of the nineteenth century of a widowed Jewess and her seven young children and the usual family events connected with them. These records inform us that

¹⁸⁰ On December 2, 1856, Jefferson Davis sent him Lecompte's address, as "Lecompton, Kansas Territory" and Pearce at once wrote him, receiving a reply promptly, which he sent Davis, who acknowledged it on January 4, before he had shown it to the President.

¹ Numerous members of the Cohen family have assisted in the preparation of this article. Miss Eleanor S. Cohen (57) furnished a great part of the materials utilized, and facilitated access to other sources. A large part of the information embodied in it was gathered by Professor David S. Blondheim, who made a preliminary draft of the family tree and assisted the writer in other respects as well. Professor Blondheim received valuable aid from the late Jacob I. Cohen (65), Miss Bertha Cohen (64), Mrs. Isaac Coale, Jr. (73), Mrs. Augusta MacMannus (26), Mr. Alan M. Cohen (74), Lieutenant Barney L. Meeden (52), Mr. Louis H. Dielman, Professors Alexander Marx and Jacob H. Hollander, Mrs. Julius Wolf, and Dr. Harry Friedenwald, among others.

² See Jacob I. Cohen (6), p. 366.

³ See Mendes I. Cohen (10), p. 371.

these children and their descendants lived in accordance with the noblest traditions of their ancestors and that they became defenders of their city, financiers of large means and uncompromising integrity, leaders in the medical, legal and engineering professions, public servants of recognized importance, lovers of the arts, and leaders in Baltimore's society. Because the family records are becoming scattered—some have already been deposited in two distinct libraries⁴—the task of digesting their contents will become more and more difficult, and it is fitting, at a time when they are still well preserved and accessible, to present them to students of the history of Maryland.

1. MEYER COHEN.⁵

Born about 1700(?). Issue: Joshua Cohen (2).

The Cohen family is descended from Meyer Cohen, who lived in Oberdorf, near Nördlingen, in the district called the Riess, not far from Ansbach, Bavaria, in the early part of the eighteenth century. From the date of birth of his son, Joshua, we may assume that Meyer Cohen was born about 1700. He is known to family tradition as the Holy Rabbi. Benjamin I. Cohen (53) explained in a MS. note in the possession of Miss Eleanor S. Cohen (57), that he was given this title because of his great learning. According to family tradition, his Hebrew name with his Hebrew title was *Ha-Kadosh Rabbi Me'ir*. In English "the Holy" is the equivalent of the Hebrew *Ha-Kadosh*. If the traditional explanation of the reason for the title is correct, it represents an exceptional use of the term, which is generally applied to Jews who gave up their lives for their faith. Neither family tradition nor available information about Oberdorf illuminates this obscurity.⁶

⁴ The Cohen-Etting Papers are now in the library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York. A number of the papers of Mendes Cohen (60) are in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society.

⁵ Each member of the family by birth has been given a number. The numbers precede the names in the genealogical table and in the subtitles, and follow the names in the body of the article.

⁶ Ludwig Müller, *Aus fünf Jahrhunderten, Beiträge z. Gesch. d. jüd. Gemeinden im Riess* (Augsburg, 1900) (*Sonderabdruck aus d. Zeitschrift d. hist. Ver. f. Schwaben u. Neuburg*, 1899 u. 1900), records, p. 139, that

(1) Meyer Cohen (Ha-Kadosh R. Meir Cohen)

(2) Joshua Cohen

(3) Jacob I. Cohen

(4) Israel I. Cohen

(5) Joshua (6) Jacob I. Jr. (7) Solomon I. (8) Philip I. (9) Maria I. (10) Mendes I. (11) Benjamin I. (12) David I. (13) Dr. Joshua I. (14) Edward I.

(15) Maj. David M.
(23) Lillie
m. Frederick Lewis

(16) Dr. Henry M. (17) Eliza M. (18) Virginia (19) Arthur M. (20) Charles (21) Alfred M. (22) Adeline M.
m. David Stern

(24) Jacob Edgar (25) Philip Alfred (26) Augusta Myers
m. Edward Davenport MacMannus (27) Maud Elise
m. William Webber

(28) Israel (29) Solomon Etting (30) John Jacob (31) Benjamin (32) Rachel Etting (33) Judith I. (34) Maria (35) Kate Frances (36) Georgiana (37) Edward (38) Eliza-Emory
m. John H. Lopes

(39) Solomon Etting (40) Benjamin D. (41) George (42) Anna Maria (43) Herbert
m. (1) Bend. Luther Leland
m. (2) John A. Hall
m. (3) Claus Van Meeden

(49) Frederick (50) Ethel (51) Mary
(52) Lieut. Barney
Leland Meeden

(53) Benjamin I. (54) Maria (55) Kitty (56) Georgie (57) Eleanor S. (58) Joshua I. Jr. (59) Anna Maria
m. Abram Minis

(60) Mendes (61) Catherine
m. Charles D. Myers
(67) Emily Clara (68) Miriam Cohen

(62) Miriam (63) Margaret (64) Bertha (65) Jacob I.
(66) Rebecca
m. Eugene Jackson

(70) Alan M. (71) Corinne (72) May (73) Harriett Cohen
m. Arnold B. Johnson m. David G. Long m. Isaac Coale, Jr.
(74) Alan M. (75) Alan M. Jr. (76) Eugene Jackson (77) Hugh Blair

2. JOSHUA COHEN.

Born 1720. Died February 7, 1771. Son of Meyer Cohen. Married Peslah, the daughter of Jacob, who was born in 1723, and died August 26, 1797. Lived and lies buried at Oberdorf. Issue: Jacob I. Cohen (3) and Israel I. Cohen (4).

3. JACOB I. COHEN.⁷

Born January 2, 1744, at Oberdorf. Died October 9, 1823, at Philadelphia, Pa. Son of Joshua and Peslah Cohen. Married (1) in 1782 Elizabeth [Esther or Hester] Whitlock Mordecai (see *infra*, p. 361), who was born in 1744, and died August 22, 1804, at Richmond, Va., and (2) Rachel Jacobs, who died November 1, 1821, at Philadelphia, Pa. No issue.

Jacob I. Cohen immigrated to this country from his native land in 1773. For a short time he resided in Lancaster, Pa. From that city he removed to Charleston, S. C.⁸ Shortly after his arrival in Charleston, Jacob I. Cohen enlisted in Captain Lushington's Company, which was part of the Charleston Regiment of Militia. He participated in the defense of Charleston, and was a member of the expedition to Beaufort in February 1779. That he was a member of Lushington's Company,⁹ and

about 1723 there was a "Rabbinats-Substitut" in Oberdorf and, p. 180, that there were twenty-six Jewish families in Oberdorf in the same year. Was Meyer Cohen this "Rabbinats-Substitut" or vice-rabbi?

⁷ According to family tradition, the *I.* which appears in the names of many members of the Cohen family, e. g., Jacob I. Cohen (3) and Benjamin I. Cohen (53), was not an initial letter of a name. The letter *I.* was perhaps used to distinguish these Cohens from the many other descendants of Aaron with similar given names.

⁸ Herbert T. Ezekiel and Gaston Lichtenstein, *History of the Jews of Richmond* (Richmond, 1917), p. 17. Undated excerpts from *Jewish Record*, Richmond, in possession of Mrs. Augusta MacMannus (26).

⁹ Barnett A. Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1905), pp. 83-107, who apparently did not know of the existence of Captain Lushington's letters (see note 10), wrote, p. 84, that "we have no record of Jacob I. Cohen as a member of Lushington's Company." Now that Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, is available, Mr. Elzas should have no difficulty in identifying Isaiah Isaacs, the partner of Jacob I. Cohen in war as well as business.

was on the Beaufort expedition is determined beyond doubt by two letters from Lushington¹⁰ in the possession of Miss Bertha Cohen (64) as well as by a statement¹¹ by Jacob I. Cohen committed to writing by his nephew, Dr. Joshua I. Cohen (13).¹²

Prior to the end of the Revolution,¹³ Jacob I. Cohen re-

¹⁰ Leon Hühner, "Some Additional Notes of the History of the Jews of South Carolina," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, Vol. xix (1910), p. 155:

"So. Carolina

April 6, 1779

"This certifies that Jacob I. Cohen enrol'd himself in my Company on his arrival from the Northward here, and has been with me a volunteer on ye Expedition to Beaufort and has in every respect conducted himself as a good soldier and man of courage.

Sig. R. LUSHINGTON,
Captain of ye Chas Town Regt."

Ibid., p. 156:

"3d Compy.

Charlestown, South Carolina—January 11, 1779

"This certifies that Mr. Jacob I. Cohen is enrolled in the Company of the Charleston Regiment of Militia (called the *Free Citizens*) under my command.

Sig. R. LUSHINGTON.
No. 1"

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 155, *et seq.* The first sheet of the statement bears the inscription: "This account given me by my uncle Mr. Jacob I. Cohen (above) from memory in his 87th year. June 7, 1822. Balto." Reference to Jacob I. Cohen's membership in Lushington's company is also made in Leon Hühner, "Jews of South Carolina from the Earliest Settlement to the End of the American Revolution," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. xii (1904), p. 50; Max J. Kohler, "Incidents Illustrative of American Jewish Patriotism," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. iv (1896), p. 96, quoting Dr. Isaac Leeser's article, *Occident*, Philadelphia, Vol. xvi (1858), p. 142; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 343 (note 23), quoting *Richmond Inquirer*, October 17, 1823, which, in turn, had copied from a recent issue of the *Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*.

¹² Our Jacob I. Cohen is not to be confused with one Jacob Cohen who raised a company of cavalry in Cumberland County, Virginia, during the Revolutionary War, and with another Jacob Cohen who appears as a prisoner on the prison ship *Torbay* in the Charleston harbor. Cf. Leon Hühner, "Jews of Virginia from the Earliest Times to the Close of the Eighteenth Century," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. xx (1911), p. 96, *et seq.*; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Elzas, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-107.

¹³ From Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 15, we may infer that he arrived in Richmond between May, 1780, and December 10, 1781.

moved to Richmond, Va., where he became associated in business with Isaiah Isaacs, who also had been a member of Lushington's company. Their partnership was very successful. Reference to them is found in a number of old records.¹⁴ The dissolution agreement entered into by Cohen and Isaacs "was written in Hebrew script, and deposited with the other records."¹⁵

In 1782 Jacob I. Cohen married Elizabeth Whitlock Mordecai, widow of Moses Mordecai, who died in 1781. Elizabeth Whitlock had been born a Christian in England, and had embraced Judaism prior to her marriage to Moses Mordecai, by whom she had three sons. Upon her conversion to Judaism she adopted the Jewish name of Esther, sometimes written Hester. Because of her many good deeds she was beloved by the entire community.¹⁶ She died August 22, 1804, and was buried at Richmond.¹⁷

During his residence in Richmond, Jacob I. Cohen was prominent in civic as well as in financial affairs. He is mentioned in official records as having served as a grandjurymen on November 11, 1793.¹⁸ In 1794, he, John Marshall, and others were trustees of the Masonic Hall.¹⁹ In January, 1795, he was elected a member of the Common Hall (City Council) to succeed Col. Bushrod Washington.²⁰ He was foreman of the grandjury in May, 1804.²¹ By a provision in his will, the

¹⁴ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15 and 16.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18. Caroline Myers Cohen (37), *Records of the Myers, Hays and Mordecai Families*, printed privately (Washington, about 1913), pp. 25 and 26.

¹⁷ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 18, quote tomb-stone inscription.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 64, with the following quotation from the Hall record: "It appearing that Mr. (Colonel) Bushrod Washington has moved out of the city . . . the Hall proceeded to supply the vacancy . . . a majority of votes was found in favor of Mr. Jacob I. Cohen, who appeared and qualified to his seat. . . ' Col. Washington was a nephew of General George Washington, who was then president."

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

City of Richmond was to receive the proceeds from the sale of certain of his negroes who, after his death, might not want their freedom, and to distribute yearly in bread among the poor on the Fourth of July the income from the proceeds.²² He was one of the trustees to whom Isaiah Isaacs deeded the Franklin Street (Richmond) Cemetery.²³

Jacob I. Cohen lived in Philadelphia from about 1806 to the time of his death.²⁴ Presumably during this period, he married Rachel Jacobs, a daughter of Israel Jacobs, of Philadelphia. The esteem in which he was held by his fellow-Jews of Philadelphia is well attested by their election of him as *parnass* (president) of the Mickvéh Israel Congregation for the year 1810-1811 and their desire to have him serve as *parnass* in 1820-1821. He declined the last election.²⁵ He died October 9, 1823, in Philadelphia.²⁶

4. ISRAEL I. COHEN.

Born April 8, 1751, at Oberdorf. Died July 29, 1803, at Richmond. Son of Joshua and Peslah Cohen. Married on December 21, 1787, Judith Solomon, who was born in 1766, and died April 5, 1837, at Baltimore. Issue: Joshua Cohen [the elder] (5), Jacob I. Cohen, Jr. (6), Solomon I. Cohen (7), Philip I. Cohen (8), Maria I. Cohen (9), Mendes I. Cohen (10), Benjamin I. Cohen (11), David I. Cohen (12), Joshua I. Cohen [the younger] (13), and Edward I. Cohen (14).

The exact date of Israel I. Cohen's immigration to this country is not known. It is certain that he was living in Virginia as early as 1784, for a court record shows that he and Joseph Darmstadt were naturalized on the 6th of December, 1784, at a court held for Henrico County.²⁷

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 331 and 332.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19 and p. 343.

²⁵ Henry Samuel Morais, *Jews of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1894), pp. 45 and 61.

²⁶ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 330-335, with his will *in extenso*.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

Although information about Israel I. Cohen's communal life is not very abundant, there is ample evidence that he was a public-spirited citizen. He was one of eight citizens of Richmond who, on March 26, 1795, volunteered to serve as constables for three months and without remuneration for the purpose of preserving peace and order.²⁸ Moreover, his name appears several times in the records of the Court of Hustings. On March 14, 1796,²⁹ he was a jurymen. The record for April 10, 1798, shows that one Solomon Raphael was ordered to deliver up a detained apprentice girl "to her master and Judith Cohen, wife of the said Israel I. Cohen."³⁰ He was a signer of a petition to the President and the Directors of the Bank of the United States for the establishment of a branch in Richmond, and was a subscriber for shares in the Academy of Arts and Sciences of the United States of America, established in Richmond in 1786.³¹ He was also a trustee of the Franklin Street Cemetery.

While in Europe in 1787, Israel I. Cohen married in Bristol, England, on December 21, Judith Solomon, of that city. He returned with her to Richmond on September 21 (or 27), 1787.³² He died intestate³³ July 29, 1803, in Richmond, and was buried there in the Franklin Street Cemetery.³⁴

Israel I. Cohen was also known as Asher Abraham (Cohen). To explain this situation, Benjamin I. Cohen (53) wrote:

"The reason why my Father is called Asher and my Great-grandfather Asher Abraham when they were really named Israel is this: My Great-grandfather fell sick unto death and in accordance with the custom in such cases a meeting of the con-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³¹ Samuel Oppenheim, "Jews and Masonry in the United States before 1810," *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XIX (1910), p. 66.

³² The dates of marriage and return to Richmond are given here as they are found in family records.

³³ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29, with copy of tomb-stone inscription.

gregation (*minyón*) was called in the *schule* [synagogue] and his name was changed to Asher Abraham. The family still knew him as Israel and my father was named after him. It was however thought advisable to call him as it is written in making the Hebrew record."

In 1808 Judith Cohen, Israel I. Cohen's widow, moved to Baltimore with seven children: Jacob I., Jr. (6), Philip I. (8), Maria I. (9), Mendes I. (10), Benjamin I. (11), David I. (12), and Joshua I. (13). "In this city the children received such educational advantages as the town afforded."³⁵ Judith Cohen died in Baltimore on April 5, 1837, and was buried in the family cemetery on West Saratoga Street, Baltimore.

5. JOSHUA COHEN.

Born June 28, 1788. Died September 12, 1788. Eldest son and child of Israel I. and Judith Cohen.

6. JACOB I. COHEN, JR.

Born September 30, 1789, at Richmond. Died April 6, 1869, at Baltimore. Second son and child of Israel I. and Judith Cohen. Unmarried.

After their arrival in Baltimore, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., and his brothers engaged in business. At first they were agents in the lottery and exchange system.³⁶ Their widely-known banking business was conducted under the name of Jacob I. Cohen, Jr. and Brothers. Their operations were extensive, and their reputation for successful and upright dealings gave their firm high standing. In 1831 they opened a banking house on Baltimore street East of Calvert street. In 1836 they erected a banking house on the Northeast corner of Baltimore and Calvert streets. It was of their firm that *The Sun* wrote:³⁷

³⁵ "Mr. Mendes Cohen on 'the Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities' and Its Collector, Colonel Mendes I. Cohen," *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, Vol. IV, no. 35 (Dec., 1884), p. 22.

³⁶ *Baltimore American*, April 9, 1869, p. 4.

³⁷ *The Sun*, Baltimore, May 17, 1837.

"The Messrs Cohen's of this city have not suspended specie payments. They say that they are abundantly able to redeem all their bills, and will do so. It must be a matter of felicitation to all good men, to find one Banking House avowing its ability to meet its obligations, and at the same time proving the truth of its avowal by its practice: The Banks of the North unite in swearing that they are safe and sound, possess abundance of means to pay with, but will not pay? Who will not either doubt their ability, or the truth of their avowals? One or the other must be doubted, there is no escaping it."

Jacob I. Cohen's name is frequently mentioned in connection with progressive enterprises of his time. He was actively interested in the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore Railroad Co. in its early days, and was a vice-president and director of that company for many years. He was a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. and president of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Co.³⁸

It was largely due to the untiring energy of Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., that the Maryland Legislature finally confirmed the constitutional amendment whereby it became possible for Jews to hold office in Maryland. The Legislature had declined for many years to remove the disability, although they were urged without interruption by the more liberal-minded citizens of the state and the country to do so. Maryland was at that time the only state in the Union to debar Jews from holding state and municipal offices. From 1816 to 1826 Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., led the movement to relieve his fellow-Jews of their disqualification. He prepared the petitions and amendments which were presented at every session, and he maintained the fight until 1826, when his and his co-workers' efforts finally met with success.³⁹

The plane on which he conducted these political activities

³⁸ *Baltimore American*, April 9, 1869, p. 4; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 144, s. v. Cohen; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

³⁹ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, p. 360-361, art. *Maryland*. Isidor Blum, *The Jews of Baltimore: A Historical Sketch in Jews of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1910), p. 7.

may be judged from a memorial which he prepared for presentation to the session of 1823-24 of the General Assembly of Maryland. This document, aptly characterized by Professor Hollander as "marked by singular loftiness of sentiment and dignity of tone,"⁴⁰ is preserved among papers relating to the "Jew Bill" presented to the Maryland Historical Society by the late Mendes Cohen (60). It is as follows:

"To the Honorable the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF MARYLAND,

"The Memorial of the subscribers, Citizens thereof,

"RESPECTFULLY REPRESENTS:

"Your Memorialists are of that class of the Citizens of Maryland, long subjected to the pressure of political disqualifications, by the operation of a religious test in the Constitution of the State; and they approach your Honorable Body with this their prayer, that an Act passed the 29th of January 1823 'to extend to all the citizens of Maryland the same civil rights and religious privileges that are enjoyed under the Constitution of the United States,' may be confirmed at the present session, becoming thereby part of the Constitution.

"Your Memorialists, feeling it incumbent on them at this stage of the proceeding, address themselves on the subject, to your Honorable body, in the honest confidence, which the American is educated to entertain in his fellow citizens, and in the legislative guardians of his rights. It is not their wish, to obtain from your honorable body, a grant of exclusive privilege; because such a privilege would be hostile, not only to the principles of our institutions, but to the express provisions of that charter which we have all alike, sworn to support: but it is equal rights which they petition; their voice is not raised in favor, but in opposition, to exclusive privilege; they ask an equality of rights with their fellow citizens. If the disqualifications under which they labor, were imposed as the penalty of law for civil delinquencies, for habits of social intemperance, or a disregard of the obligations of religion, they would blush to murmur; but it is, as they humbly apprehend, the

⁴⁰ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VIII, p. 361b.

retribution for a too honest perseverance in conscientious faith, unmindful of political disqualifications, of social inconvenience, and of individual contumely: and this same manly and virtuous constancy, which, exerted in the cause of their Country, would entitle them to be honored as patriots, exposes them to proscription, when exercised in the service of the acknowledged God. They firmly flatter themselves, and have at length some reason to believe, that your enlightened Councils will suffer no longer, those strange anomalies to endure—that the period has arrived at last, when conscience and reason, the peculiar gifts of an Omnipotent benevolence, will be respected, and persecutions be abandoned to the Inquisitor and the Bigot. Are their doctrines immoral? They are the foundation of the general faith. Are they dangerous? It is no part of them to work conversions. Are they new? Ancient as the revelation of the Almighty truth. Your memorialists, with all humility, are at a loss to understand what there is so peculiarly exceptionable in these their tenets, as to have induced a solitary, but persevering departure, from the sublime system of our American political jurisprudence: why even at this moment, when the whole American pulse throbs with indignation, at the civil and religious proscriptions, renewed and asserted in the old world, the good people of Maryland alone, should find it necessary or expedient, to continue for a moment, the disqualification of any class of their fellow Citizens. Your Memorialists beg leave to remind your Honorable Body, that the honors of office in our happy Republic, are not assumed, but conferred; not usurped by guilty ambition, but bestowed directly or indirectly, by popular confidence; that to disqualify any class of your citizens, is for the people to disqualify themselves: can it be necessary, can it be wise or politic at this day, for the people to disqualify themselves on the score of opinion only, from consulting merit in the selection of their public servants?

“Your Memorialists do not here propose, a voluminous discussion of the great principles involved in the question, which they desire to bring before you; because it is one, as they apprehend, at this day, almost universally understood. It is the

same which has agitated like a tempest, the human family from its earliest existence; has armed the hands of men in wide and desolating wars; has stained nations and families with intestine crime; trampled the charities of life; and driven societies from their natural homes, to seek an asylum more hospitable, on the billows of the deep or amid the recesses of the desert: a question which, as it mainly contributed to populate this our common Country, was here first and fully understood: and one, the liberal and happy results of whose true nature, our own Maryland, though too long misled upon the subject, evinced at the last session of her Legislature, and as your Memorialists trust, will again prove to the world on the present occasion, are deeply felt and thoroughly appreciated.

"America, instructed in the school of adversity and oppression, and warned by the calamities of nations, has attained the haven of political happiness, by the guide of political wisdom. Moderate in her might, she has never sought to find in power, the foundation of new rights, but metes out to the weak the same measure with the strong. It was reserved for her to discover, that true policy consists in Justice, which, whilst it secures the confidence and devotion of her own Sons, entitles her to the reciprocity of the stranger. Above all, America has been the first to respect opinion and the human mind, that mysterious and sacred relation of sublunary Man to Celestial Wisdom; nor has thought to controul the measureless elasticity of that principle, which created for exclusive allegiance to the Omnipotent alone, is beyond the reach of temporal restraints. America has wisely relinquished it to the insidious policy of regal governments, to make an instrument of religion: she has forever sundered the spiritual from the temporal concerns of men, and convinced mankind that disqualifications and persecution are only fruitful of disunion and hate;—toleration and equal rights, of good will and peace on earth.

"Your Memorialists humbly apprehend that a peculiar and most important crisis hath occurred in the political world, and in the history of man; and if in the eastern hemisphere, his struggles for civil and religious liberty, hitherto ineffectual,

have been smothered in their birth, it is now particularly important that, successful throughout the west, no speck should endure upon the purity of that code, sublime in its nature, as in its origin, it is confessedly divine.

"As fellow citizens of Maryland, as Brethren of the same human family; for the honor of the State, for the great interests of humanity; your Memorialists humbly pray at your hands, that the Bill before you may be confirmed."

That there was no unwillingness to elect Jews to office was seen soon after the adoption of the amendment. In October, 1826, Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., and Solomon Etting were elected to membership in the First Branch of the City Council. Cohen represented the sixth ward. He was re-elected a number of times, and for some years (1845-51) he was president of his branch of the Council. He was elected to the First Branch from the eleventh ward in 1849 without distinction of party.⁴¹ His work in the City Council was distinguished for his insistence upon economy and for his practice of holding public officers to strict accountability.

He participated actively in many undertakings. He was one of the founders of Baltimore's public school system. For the first nine years of its existence (1830-38) he was secretary and secretary-treasurer of the Board of Public School Commissioners.⁴² He was one of the Commissioners of Finance of the City of Baltimore⁴³ and a member of the Ancient and Honorable Mechanical Company of Baltimore.⁴⁴ He called to order the immense "war meeting" in Monument Square, May 23, 1846, held for the purpose of passing, in the name of the citizens of Baltimore, resolutions referring to the Mexican War.⁴⁵

Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., died April 6, 1869, and was buried in the family cemetery on West Saratoga street.

⁴¹ *Baltimore American*, April 9, 1869, p. 4; *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 44, s. v. Cohen; Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴² *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 144, s. v. Cohen; Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴³ Blum, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁴⁴ *Jewish Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 144, s. v. Cohen.

⁴⁵ J. Thomas Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 516.

7. SOLOMON I. COHEN

Born 1791. Third son and child of Israel I. and Judith Cohen. He did not move to Baltimore. It seems that he continued to live in Richmond.⁴⁶

8. PHILIP I. COHEN.

Born April 17, 1793,⁴⁷ at Richmond. Died September 30, 1852, at Norfolk. Fourth son and child of Israel I. and Judith Cohen. Married January 25, 1826, Augusta Myers, who was born December 28, 1797, at Norfolk, Va., and died April 26, 1876, at New York. Issue: David M. Cohen (15), Henry M. Cohen (16), Eliza M. Cohen (17), Virginia Cohen (18), Arthur M. Cohen (19), Charles Cohen (20), Alfred M. Cohen (21) and Adeline M. Stern (22).

When Philip I. Cohen was about eighteen years of age, the War of 1812 broke out. In 1814, he became a private in Captain Nicholson's Company of Baltimore Fencibles, and participated in the defense of Fort McHenry.⁴⁸ Later he moved to Norfolk, Va., where, on January 25, 1826, he married Augusta Myers, daughter of Moses Myers. At the time of his death in 1852, he was postmaster of Norfolk.⁴⁹ He is buried in the family cemetery in Baltimore. His wife, who survived him by twenty-five years, is also buried there.

9. MARIA I. COHEN.

Born September 30, 1794, at Richmond. Died January 23, 1834, at Baltimore. Only daughter and fifth child of Israel I. and Judith Cohen. Unmarried. Buried in family cemetery at Baltimore. Also known as Miriam.

⁴⁶ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 87, note that on May 27, 1817, Solomon I. Cohen and Moses N. Cardoza were made administrators of the estate of Abraham N. Cardoza. Was this Solomon I. Cohen our No. 7?

⁴⁷ This date of birth is that found on Philip I. Cohen's tomb-stone. Family records give the Hebrew date of birth as Nisan, 26, 5553, which corresponds to April 8, 1793.

⁴⁸ William H. Marine, *British Invasion of Maryland, 1812-1815* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 249.

⁴⁹ Ezekiel and Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

10. COL. MENDES I. COHEN.

Born May 25, 1796, at Richmond. Died May 7, 1879, at Baltimore. Fifth son and sixth child of Israel I. and Judith Cohen. Unmarried.

Mendes I. Cohen was eighteen years of age when, in 1814, he joined the Twenty-Seventh Regiment because he was under the impression that that regiment would be sent to defend Washington. Discovering that he was mistaken, he left the regiment, and joined Captain Nicholson's Fencibles, and was in Fort McHenry during the bombardment.⁵⁰ Many years later he narrated to Benjamin I. Cohen (53) his experiences in connection with the battle. Benjamin I. Cohen's record of them reads:

"REMINISCENCES OF THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT MCHENRY
'THE STAR FORT' IN SEPT., 1814. NARRATED BY COL.
M. I. COHEN.

"Capt. Nicholson being a Judge of the Balto. Co. Ct. could not accept a command under the U. S. Govt. he was not therefore made a Captain without a commission & his Company, known as Nicholson's Artillery Fencibles, consisted entirely of volunteers. They never enlisted individually but offered their services to the Govt. in a body. They were accepted & stationed in the Star Fort, (now Ft. McHenry). On account of the peculiar nature of their service they drew no rations, but were paid in money by the Govt. each man furnishing his own provisions. In this Co. were Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., Mendes I. Cohen, Philip I. Cohen, George Williams, Cumberland Williams & Nathaniel Williams. Every morning at about 6 o'clock, a small covered cart left the N. W. cor. of Howard & Market Sts. for the fort with food sent by the families for the members of this Co. The Cohens had a large stone jug around which was tightly sewn a cover of carpet, this was filled with coffee each morning & sent by the cart, always arriving there

⁵⁰ *The Baltimorean*, May 20, 1876; *Marine*, *op. cit.*, p. 249; *The Sun*, Baltimore, May 8, 1879.

good & hot. In the Fort were several Houses, in one of which were quartered two Companies of militia, in another Major Armistead, in another Nicholson's Artillery & there were also a small number of regular troops in the Fort. Some time previous to the Bombardment J. I. Cohen, Jr. procured special permission to visit Philadelphia for the purpose of nursing a dying relative, he had been a member of the Co. from its inception; but this circumstance prevented his participation in the defense at the time of the attack of the Star Ft.

"The Bombardment was on Tuesday. A few days previously the British had evacuated Washington, the Americans had posted videttes [bidettes] along the shores of the Bay & they reported that on coming out of the mouth of the Potomac, the British Fleet had gone down the bay & it was supposed has [*sic*] passed out at the Capes. This movement turned out to be a feint & after proceeding a short distance down, the Fleet turned & came up to Baltimore. On the Saturday afternoon before the attack the fake Information was rec'd [*sic*], that the British Fleet had gone down the Bay & the Artillery Co. & the two Co.'s of militia determined to march [*sic*] up to the City. They were however unable to agree who should command the entire body on the march up & therefore Capt. Nicholson's Artillery came up alone and the two Militia Co.'s. remained at the Fort. During Saturday night information was received that the British were nearing the City & the non-commissioned officers went around to the houses of the different members of the Co. telling them to meet *at once* at the Cor. of Howard & Market Sts. & to proceed to the Fort with all possible speed. Col. Cohen then a youth of 18 shared a room with his Brother Philip in the House now No. 142 W. Balto. St. Worn out by the events of the day he slept soundly & his Brother was awakened & went to the Fort leaving him still asleep.

"At daylight he awoke & missing Philip enquired where he was. On being told he dressed as quickly as possible & snatching a hasty breakfast he walked walked [*sic*] down to the Fort. On reaching Federal Hill where there were then no Houses he saw the whole British Fleet off North Point.

"This was Sunday morning the attack took place of [*sic*] Tuesday. During the firing of Bombs &c. at the Flag in the center of the Fort which afforded a fair mark for the enemy's gunners, in order to protect our men they were ordered to march outside of the Star Fort & stand under the walls where they were safe from shot & shell. While there a shell struck the powder magazine where there were many barrels of this explosive. It was Col. Cohen's duty to go there & get out the cartridges.

"When the shell struck it was deemed necessary to roll out the barrels of powder as the magazine was not bomb-proof. They were rolled under the walls among the men & Col. Cohen recollects sitting on one which had no head [*sic*]; but was merely covered by a piece of woolen stuff. While in this interesting position Mr. Williams [*sic*] serving man brought down a large basket of provisions which were divided among the members of the Command & eagerly eaten by them.

"Philip I. Cohen was standing by the side of Lieutenant Claggett when the latter was killed & Col. Cohen was next to Sergeant Clemm when he was struck down & assisted to place him upon a litter.

"During the firing Col. Cohen could see the ship upon which was Francis S. Key distinguishable by its flag of truce. After the British retired Mr. Key landed at the Fort & produced a copy of the 'Star Spangled Banner' which was copied first by one of the men then by another, and they all amused themselves trying to find a tune for it.

"Col. Cohen's recollections of the night attack & many other incidents of that eventful period are quite vivid & afford a refreshing example of patriotism to the descendants of those who so gallantly defended the old 'Star Fort.'

"Balto. 10/2 1878.

BENJN. I. COHEN."

"This period of peril and excitements seems to have put an end to attendance in school, and shortly thereafter he [Mendes I. Cohen] became engaged in business. Somewhat later he

joined his brothers of the banking firm of J. I. Cohen, Jr., & Brothers, and conducted at New York the branch of the house in that city."⁵¹ He retired from business in 1829, and made an extensive foreign tour. While in London he was frequently the guest of N. M. Rothschild, and accompanied the latter on a trip to Paris. He was in Rome during the pontificate of Gregory XVI., to whom he was presented. He studied the art treasures and antiquities of Rome while in that city, and visited all the points of historic interest in Italy, Sicily and Greece. While in Constantinople he was the guest of the captain of the United States sloop of war *John Adams*. Later a vessel in which he was travelling was wrecked off the coast of Asia Minor, and he almost lost his life and his trunks and papers. With horses and Mohammedan escort he travelled along the coast of Asia Minor and over its mountains. While sailing for Cyprus, he was almost wrecked again. He went to Syria, where he was a guest in the camp of Ibrahim Pasha when the latter attacked St. Jean D'Acre, and it was Mendes I. Cohen who gave to the English consul at Alexandria the first information which he received about the attack. Mendes I. Cohen was the first person to bear the American flag up the Nile after the ratification of the treaty with Turkey. This flag, which was made out of the shirts and the handkerchiefs of the sailors on the boat, is still preserved by Miss Bertha Cohen (64). He went to Damascus and Aleppo, and visited Palestine. Then he proceeded to Russia. These travels occupied about six years.⁵² He made other visits to Europe, on one of which he attended the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1837.

The above-mentioned trip on the Nile lasted four and a half months. Travelling in his own boat, he ascended as far as the Second Cataract. While making this trip, he "lost no opportunity to acquire objects of antiquarian value, when such were

⁵¹ "Mr. Mendes Cohen on 'the Cohen Collection,'" *J. H. U. Cir.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵² *The Baltimorean*, *op. cit.* Another and somewhat different account of this tour is given in "Mr. Mendes Cohen on 'the Cohen Collection,'" *J. H. U. Cir.*, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

obtainable from first hands, or from sources which left no doubt as to their authenticity."⁵³ These articles, which formed the basis of the "Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities," were procured at Thebes, Memphis and other points. To these he added objects which he purchased at the sale of Consul-General Salt's great collection in London in 1835.⁵³ The entire collection, which consisted of 689 objects, has been described as the first of its kind brought to this country.⁵⁴ It was sold in 1884 by Mendes I. Cohen's nephews, at a nominal price, to the Johns Hopkins University, where it is known as the "Cohen Collection of Egyptian Antiquities."⁵⁵

Mendes I. Cohen's collection of coins and medals is said to have been the second finest in the world. The catalogue⁵⁶ issued for the sale of this collection lists 2329 different items representing coins and medals of many countries and periods. It is said to have been worth twenty thousand dollars.⁵⁷

In 1836 Governor Veazey appointed Mendes I. Cohen one of his aides. A letter announcing the appointment stated that it was made in recognition of his services during the War of 1812, and conferred upon him the commission of Colonel.⁵⁸ Thereafter he was known, and all records likewise refer to him, as Colonel Mendes I. Cohen.

⁵³ "Mr. Mendes Cohen on 'the Cohen Collection,'" *J. H. U. Cir., op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵⁴ *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, XXVIII (1922), p. 251, referring to Caroline R. Williams, "The Place of the New York Historical Society in the Growth of American Interest in Egyptology," *New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin*, April, 1920, pp. 5 and 6.

⁵⁵ "Mr. Mendes Cohen on 'the Cohen Collection,'" *J. H. U. Cir., op. cit.*, p. 22, gives a partial catalogue of the collection.

⁵⁶ Catalogue of a very Celebrated and Valuable Collection of Gold, Silver and Copper Coins and Medals, The Property of Col. M. I. Cohen, of Baltimore, to be Sold at Auction by Messrs. Bangs, Merwin and Co., 656 Broadway, New York, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the 25th, 26th, 27th, 28th and 29th October, 1875, Commencing at 3 o'clock P. M., Catalogued by Edward Cogan (New York, 1875).

⁵⁷ *The Baltimorean*, *op. cit.* The unusually fine collection of stamps which is supposed to have belonged to a member of the Cohen family may have been collected by Mendes I. Cohen. Neither the collection nor data concerning it have been found.

⁵⁸ *The Sun*, Baltimore, May 8, 1879.

Col. Cohen was a member of the Maryland Historical Society; vice-president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society; director of the Fireman's Insurance Co., and Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Co. At a meeting held October 6, 1858, at which Col. Cohen presided, plans for the Hebrew Hospital of Baltimore were made.⁵⁹ He was a member of the Maryland Legislature in 1847-48.

Col. Cohen died May 7, 1879, and was buried in the family cemetery in Baltimore.

(*To be Continued.*)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY

(*Abstracted.*)

May 14, 1923.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with the President in the chair. There were 57 members present.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the following donations: From Judge Stockbridge, a cane of English oak, cut from the keelson of the British frigate *Charon*. It was upon this vessel that Cornwallis came to this country to take part in the American Revolution. In 1781 the *Charon* went to Yorktown where her guns were taken off to be placed upon the defences of that town. During a bombardment she was set on fire by one of the American shells and burned to the water's edge. In 1881 when the York river was being dredged to admit the approach of foreign vessels a few of the timbers were brought to the surface, among them portions of the keelson from which this cane was cut. From Mrs. J. Frank Parran, a memorial picture to her mother, consisting of a photograph of Mrs. Theodore Anderson Norris, graduate of one of the first classes of St. Mary's Seminary; a photograph of grant of St.

Clements Manor and Island to Sir Thomas Gerrard and several small pictures.

The Corresponding Secretary then reported that two portraits had been left here on deposit; one an oval picture of James Frisby, deposited by Col. T. Worthington Hollyday, through General Clinton Riggs, and the other, a portrait of Reverdy Johnson, deposited by Mrs. Charles G. Kerr.

Mr. Dielman presented on behalf of Dr. James D. Iglehart a book entitled "Term Reports in the Court of the King's Bench from 26th George III to 27th George III," by Charles Durnford and Edward Hyde East. This volume was, before it became Dr. Iglehart's, the property of Mr. Buchanan and before him, at an early period, William Stump's.

The following persons having been previously nominated were elected to membership in the Society:

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| Miss Jessie L. Snow, | George H. Stickney, |
| Mr. Edward Hopkins Hammond, | Mr. Guy T. O. Hollyday, |
| Miss Helene Goldsborough, | Mr. J. Custis Handy, |
| Mr. Charles B. Rogers, | Mr. Henry Lay Duer, |
| Mr. William G. Dancy, | Mr. John Jacob Thomsen, |
| Mrs. Wilbur C. Dunahue, | Mr. Frank G. Evans, |
| Miss Mable G. Norris, | Mr. J. Burkloe Brown, |
| Col. T. Worthington Hollyday, <i>Associate</i> . | |

Mr. Dielman, Chairman, reported for the Library Committee, that on Tuesday, May 7th, the rooms of the Society were thrown open to the Medical Library Association and although the weather was very disagreeable, about thirty delegates had attended. He then read a letter from that Association expressing their pleasure and thanks for the reception.

After introductions from the President, Mrs. Letitia Pennell Wilson, Regent, presented on behalf of the Carter Braxton Chapter, D. A. R., the books, "General Index of Wills of St. Mary's County, Maryland. 1633-1900," and "General Index of Wills of Anne Arundel County, Maryland. 1777-1917," both compiled by Mrs. Margaret Robert Hodges. Mrs. Wilson

accompanied the presentation with a short account, saying that their Society was organized it was anxious to do some work, so they had bought the Wills of St. Mary's County and of Anne Arundel County and had them copied and multigraphed. She also said that the Society was planning to buy next the Wills of Charles County and that they hope to continue indexing Wills of different counties of the State. Mrs. Wilson spoke of the interesting book-plate of the D. A. R. which is in the front of each book.

The President expressed the appreciation of the Society to the Carter Braxton Chapter and to their Regent, for the gifts, saying that they would be of inestimable value and that he complimented that Chapter and Regent for their enterprise.

The President then introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. Daniel R. Randall, who read an interesting paper entitled, "A Lord Baltimore Portrait." The thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Randall. After some discussion the following resolutions were adopted and the Corresponding Secretary was instructed to send a copy to the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Baltimore, May 14, 1923.

WHEREAS, It has been brought to the attention of this Society that His Excellency Albert C. Ritchie, Governor of Maryland, has addressed a communication to the President and Board of Trustees of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia, urging that Board, through a generous and magnanimous action, to return to the State Capitol at Annapolis the portrait of Lord Baltimore which for many years has hung in the gallery of the Academy, whereof this Society possesses a copy made by Thomas Sully; and

WHEREAS, From the best available sources of information this Society is advised that this portrait was that of Charles Calvert the 3d or the 5th Lord Baltimore, and was presented by him to the Province of Maryland during his term of Governorship or upon assuming the proprietary upon the death of his father

and which contemporary writers describe as hanging in the Council Chamber in the Old State House at Annapolis prior to the destruction of that building in 1769-70, when it was removed to the municipal building of the City of Annapolis during the construction of the present State House; and

WHEREAS, All the available information would lead to the belief that the portrait was the property of the State of Maryland in 1823 when it was given by the municipality of Annapolis to Charles Willson Peale in exchange for six portraits of the Governors of Maryland, as chronicled in the minutes of the corporation of Annapolis of January 1823 and June 1824, and that its return to the State of Maryland by the Trustees of the Academy of the Fine Arts, as sought by the Governor and the Societies of Colonial Wars of the State of Maryland and Pennsylvania, would be a magnanimous act deserving earnest commendation by the citizens of this Commonwealth and particularly those interested in the early history of Maryland and in the lives of the founders of the Province of Maryland;

Be it Resolved, By the Maryland Historical Society that we do most earnestly join with the Governor and the Council of the Society of Colonial Wars in urging the return of this portrait to the State of Maryland under such terms and conditions as may be properly imposed to that end.

And be it further Resolved, That a copy of the aforesaid preamble and resolution be forwarded to the Secretary of the Pennsylvania Historical Society with the request that the officers of that Society urge in every way the achievement of the plan proposed.

October 8, 1923.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with the President in the chair. Twenty-five members were present.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, because of

illness, Mr. Louis H. Dielman was asked to serve in that capacity. Mr. Dielman reported the gift of three portraits given by Mr. William Power Wilson of Boston. One, a portrait of John McKim, Jr.; one, a portrait of Mrs. Margaret Telfair McKim, and the other a portrait of Mrs. Anne Telfair Timothy, all painted by Rembrandt Peale. A sketch of the life and ancestry of each was read with a letter from Mr. Wilson requesting that if for any reason the Society cease to function these portraits be conveyed to the person then living who shall be the nearest in descent to said John McKim, Jr. The President expressed the extreme indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Power Wilson for the handsome and valuable gift and to Mr. J. Appleton Wilson for his interest and trouble in the matter.

Mr. Dielman then presented the following:

On behalf of Mr. Francis Neal Parke, executor of the Erhart Estate in Carroll County, a number of valuable and interesting books, pamphlets and newspapers.

On behalf of Mr. T. R. Herring, a series of photographs of the Dairy at "Oaklands," the country place of General Robert Goodloe Harper.

On behalf of Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, a very rare almanac entitled, "Mary K. Goddard's Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia Almanac for 1785." Mr. Dielman accompanied the presentation with an interesting account of the almanac printed in that same year by her brother William.

On behalf of Mr. S. D. Gittings, a box of newspaper clippings in reference to the Spanish-American War.

Mr. Dielman then presented personally a collection of Meredith papers dealing mainly with the financial disasters of Robert Gilmore; and a replica in bronze of the medal presented by the City of Philadelphia to Captains Creighton, Low and Stouffer for their gallantry in rescuing the passengers from the wreck of the steamer *San Francisco*, January, 1859.

The following persons having been previously nominated were elected to Active membership in the Society:

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| Mr. Walter C. Mylander, | Mr. Theodore G. Lurman, Jr., |
| Mrs. Alexander Warner, | Dr. John Ruhrah, |
| Miss Grace Lyon, | Mr. Raphael Semmes, |
| Mr. Samuel C. Rowland, | Mrs. Robert Vickers, |
| Mr. Garner Wood Denmead. | |

And those to Associate membership were:

Mr. A. Howard Speake and Miss Annie Lynch.

The President reported the rearranging of the Gallery, stating that portraits of the former Presidents of this Society, lacking that of Governor Warfield, now hung around the railing of the Library.

The President reported that it had been hoped that the Leakin Room would be on exhibition at that time but circumstances beyond control had prevented. He stated that the room would be open soon.

The following deaths were reported among our members:

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| Richard H. Bayard, | John J. Dobler, |
| William H. Lytle, | Robert Oliver Lehr, |
| Edward Stabler, Jr., | McHenry Howard, |
| Dr. John H. Jamar. | |

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

BOOK REVIEWS

Keene Family History and Genealogy (1923). By Dr. Elias Jones.

In this volume of over 300 pages Dr. Jones, who is well known as the author of a history of Dorchester County, Maryland, has brought together an appreciable amount of interesting data relating to the various branches of the Keene family of Maryland and their descendants in Kentucky, Georgia, and elsewhere.

The familiar and frequently unwarranted tradition of the alleged "three brothers," by which many American families

attempt to explain the origin of the several off-shoots of the family tree, is based in the case of the Maryland Keenes, upon authentic facts of record. These three brothers were Henry, Richard, and Edward Keene, the immigrants, being sons of Henry Keene, of County Surry, England.

The will of Richard Keene, of Calvert County, Md., executed in 1672, mentions his father, Henry Keene, as then living in County Surry and in a locality which is rather vaguely set down in the record of the will as "Wardstoun." Whether such a place actually existed, it has been impossible to ascertain.

However, at the solicitation of Dr. Jones, it was the writer's privilege to undertake a survey of the County of Surry, with the result that the family of Henry Keene was definitely located, for the first time, in the Parish of Worplesdon. Old Richard Keene's 300 acre tract, called "Warbleston," in Calvert County, is reminiscent of the English homeplace.

Dr. Jones' book is illustrated by several rare family portraits and the volume, printed in clean-cut type on good paper, will interest the descendants of the worthy family of Keenes. Some improvement might be suggested in the arrangement of the text, and a rearrangement of the method of indexing would facilitate the search for individual names; but these seeming blemishes may be forgiven in view of the general worth of Dr. Jones' work.

FRANCIS B. CULVER.

LIST OF DEATHS FOR THE YEAR 1767

"Francis Ange, in Maryland, aged 134. He was born at Stratford upon Avon, remembered the death of K. Charles I, and left England soon after. At the age of 130, he was in perfect health; his wife, aged 80, had a son by him not then 27 years of age; and at the time of his death, his faculties were perfect, and his memory strong. Cha. Cecil Calvert, Esq., at Paris."—From *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1767.

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VOLUME XLII (Assembly Series Volume 20)

PROCEEDINGS AND ACTS OF THE ASSEMBLY (1740-1744)

This volume of the Archives is now ready for distribution. The attention of members of the Society who do not now receive the Archives is called to the liberal provision made by the Legislature, which permits the Society to furnish to its own members copies of the volumes, as they are published from year to year, at the mere cost of paper, presswork, and binding. This cost is at present fixed at one dollar, at which price members of the Society may obtain one copy of each volume published during the period of their membership. For additional copies, and for volumes published before they became members, the regular price of three dollars is charged.

During the period covered by the early part of this volume, Samuel Ogle was Governor. His administration, which had begun harmoniously, ended in acrimonious quarrels with the Lower House. The Session of 1740 was largely concerned with the details of arranging for Maryland's contingent in the British Expedition against the Spanish possessions in America. The right of the Proprietary to Ordinary (*i. e.*, tavern) licenses caused discussions. The Lower House expelled a member, because he had accepted a position under the Proprietary and Ogle promptly prorogued the body. The delegate was reelected and served in the Session of 1741, the last one in Ogle's governorship, during which session the question of arms and ammunition aroused continued dispute.

William Bladen, a native of the Province, came as Ogle's successor and called a new Assembly, which met in 1742. His opening relations with the Assembly were auspicious and Bladensburgh, a new town, was named for him. Provision was made for beginning the construction of a house for the Governor at Annapolis. Worcester County was formed and the project was introduced for a new county in the Western part of the Province. The arms and ammunition bill failed again; but most of the bills introduced passed. Indeed, Bladen agreed to a bill providing for the trial of matters of fact in the counties where they should arise, which act the Proprietary vetoed. Poor debtors were ordered to be released and negotiations with the Northern Indians were authorized. An address to the Proprietary was adopted, offering him a substitute for quit-rents and, as his reply did not come promptly, there was no Assembly session in 1743. In 1744, the attempt to form Frederick County failed again and the first suggestion was made to substitute what became Wicomico County nearly 125 years later. Several acts were passed concerning the parishes of the established church and several temporary laws were revived. The Lower House refused to pass a militia bill or one for the purchase of arms. Bladen was indignant that the Delegates had endeavored to meddle in the Indian embassy and refused to allow them to investigate the expenditures of the tax on tonnage and that on tobacco exported, while the Upper House refused to pay for a Provincial Agent in England, or to exempt vessels owned by Marylanders from taxation. In return, the Lower House refused to appropriate further for the building of the Governor's house. Acerbity had succeeded to the pleasant relations between Bladen and the Assembly.

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Editor.

**STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912,**

Of Maryland Historical Magazine, published quarterly at Baltimore, Md.,
for October 1, 1923.

State of Maryland, City of Baltimore, ss.

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis H. Dielman, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Editor of the Maryland Historical Magazine and that the following is to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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Louis H. Dielman,
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[Seal]

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My commission expires May 5, 1924.

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